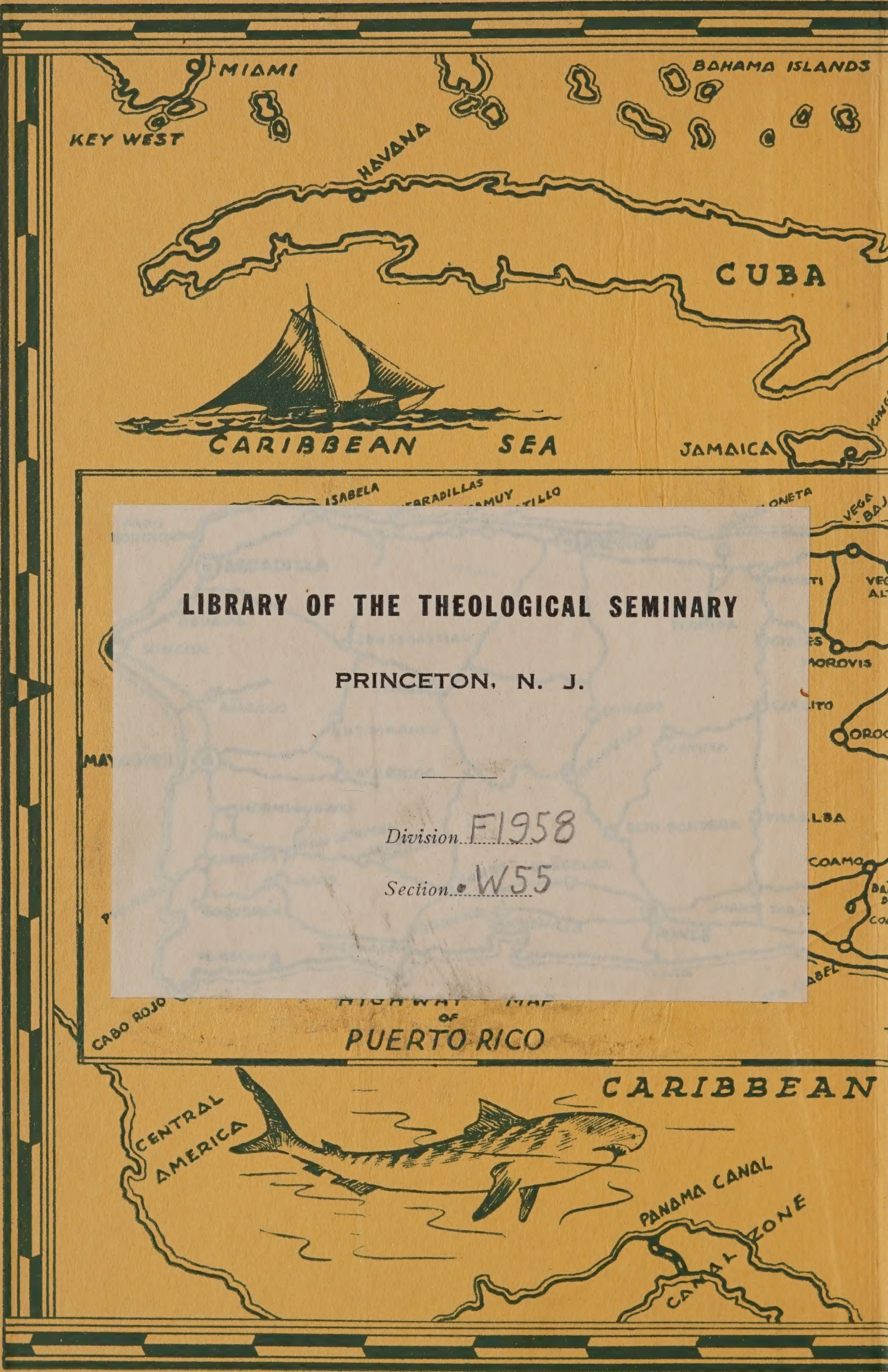
PUERTO RICO

AND ITS PEOPLE


MIAMI
KEY WEST
HAVANA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
CARIBBEAN SEA
JAMAICA
ISABELA
MOROVIS
COAMO
CABO ROJO
HIGHWAY MAP OF PUERTO RICO
CARIBBEAN
CENTRAL AMERICA
PANAMA CANAL ZONE
CANAL

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

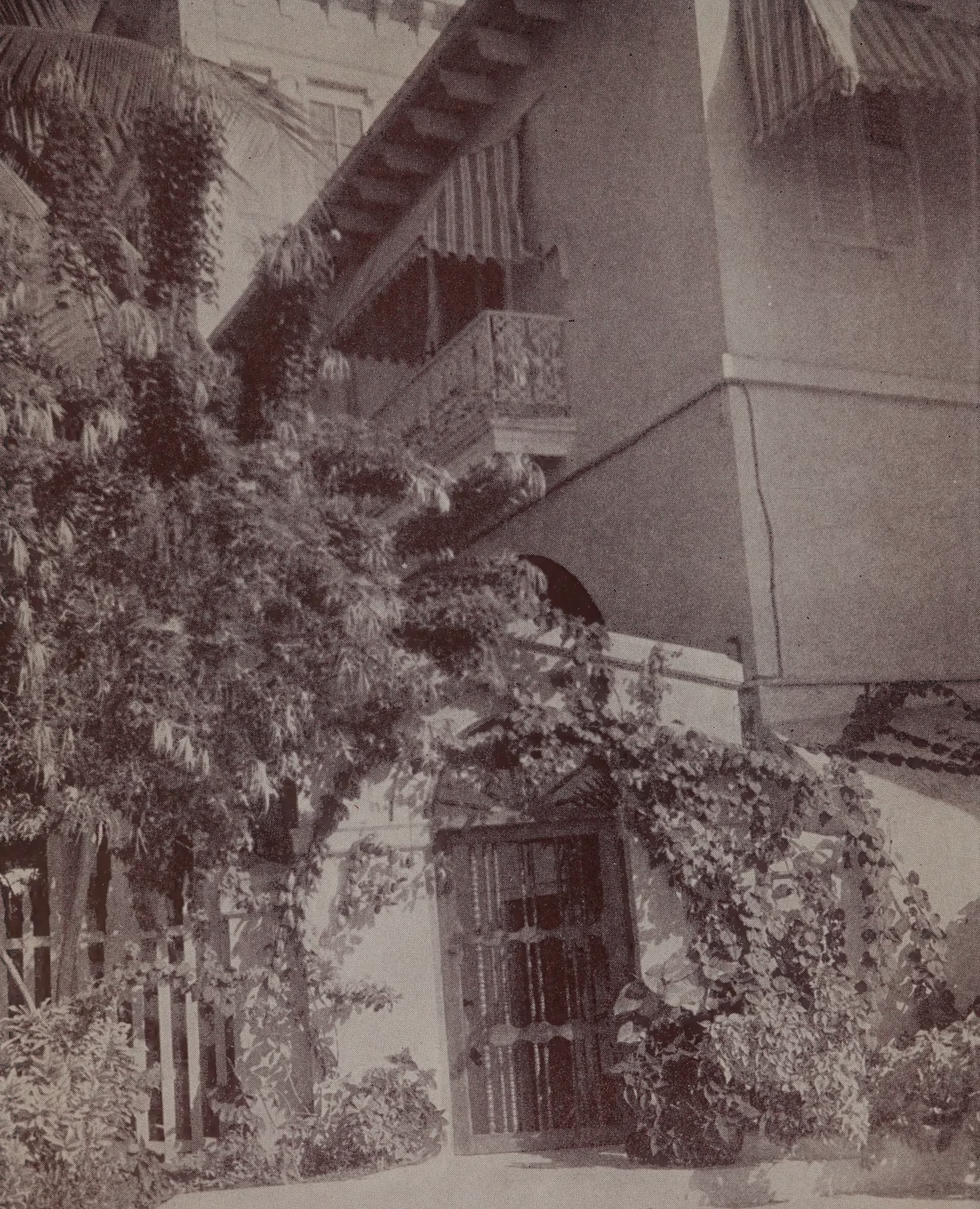
PRINCETON, N. J.

Division F1958

Section .W55

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW YORK 1385 MI.
HAITI
SAN DOMINGO
TRUJILLO
MIAMI 1000 MI.
SAN JUAN
PUERTO RICO
ST THOMAS
VIEQUES I.
VIRGIN ISLANDS
ST. CROIX
ORADO
PALOSECO
SAN JUAN
LOIZA ALDEA
TOA BAJA
CATAÑO
TOA ALTA
RIO PIEDRAS
CAROLINA
RIO GRANDE
LUQUILLO
BAYAMON
TRUJILLO ALTO
CANOVANAS
MAMEYES
OROZAL
FAJARDO
PLAYA
NARANJITO
AGUAS BUENAS
GURABO
MANGO
CEIBA
COMERIO
CAGUAS
JUNCOS
NAGUABO
ENSENADA HONDA
BARRANQUITAS
CIDRA
LAS PIEDRAS
AIBONITO
LAS CRUCES
SAN LORENZO
HUMACAO
PLAYA
CAYEY
YABUCOA
GUAYAMA
MAUNABO
PATILLAS
SALINAS
ARROYO
ST. KITTS
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
ST. LUCIA
ST. VINCENT
GRENADA
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
CHARLES E. PONT

PUERTO RICO AND ITS PEOPLE



- Carved mahogany gate into the gardens of La Fortaleza, official residence of Spanish and American governors for centuries.

PUERTO RICO AND ITS PEOPLE

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
JAN 6 1939
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By

TRUMBULL WHITE

With forty-seven reproductions of photographs and a map

FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY
NEW YORK MCMXXXVIII

COPYRIGHT, 1938, BY FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY

*All rights reserved. No part of this
work may be reproduced without the
written permission of the publishers.*

Printed in the United States of America

To

My Wife

KATHERINE

who first saw Puerto Rico with me in 1898, then
as now, and during many far journeyings,
always helping to see things fairly,

This Book Is Inscribed

CONTENTS

PAGE
A Foreword of Intangibles xiii
CHAPTER
I. The Beginnings Seem Romantic—Now . 1
II. Four Hundred Restless Years . . . 12
III. No War Is "A Little War" 22
IV. The Ancient Regime Comes to an End . 30
V. Self-Government, Step by Step . . . 41
VI. Uncle Sam Moves into the Palace . . 56
VII. Governors Yesterday and To-day . . 73
VIII. Old Routes and New—and a Bit of Geography 87
IX. "First Catch Your Tourist" . . . 95
X. "All About Puerto Rico in Four Days!" 107
XI. Taking Puerto Rico as It Comes . . 116
XII. The West End of the Island . . . 128
XIII. Finishing the Grand Tour 143
XIV. Fortresses to Spare 158
XV. Carpetbags and Colonies 170
XVI. Matters of Health and Climate . . 190
XVII. A Sorry Jest That Went Astray . . 199
XVIII. The Schools and the Language Question 209
XIX. The Making of a University . . . 220
XX. Politics and Statesmanship 232
XXI. Tropical Agriculture Has Its Problems 242
XXII. PRRA 260

CHAPTER PAGE
XXIII. Island Sports and Sportsmen . . . 274
XXIV. How Puerto Rican News Is Made . . 286
XXV. The Advent of Albizu Campos . . . 295
XXVI. The United States Takes Notice of Puerto Rico 308
XXVII. Local Pride and Prejudice 322
XXVIII. "Where Every Prospect Pleases—!" . 336
XXIX. Both Sides of the Shield 348
XXX. Puerto Rican Hopes and Outlooks . . 361
Index 379

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Carved mahogany gate into the gardens of La Fortaleza, official residence of Spanish and American governors for centuries . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

The outmost sentry-box on the ancient fortress of El Morro, at the entrance to San Juan harbor 8

The topmost walls of El Morro, showing stairs and ramp from level to level 8

The Federal Building and the business center of San Juan . 9

The "sport of kings" is not neglected in Puerto Rico . . 9

Cutting and hauling sugar-cane 24

Guanica Central of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company, largest sugar producer and largest Central on the island . 24

The old and the new—a modern San Juan apartment house and the battlements of San Cristobal fortress overlook the Atlantic side by side 25

Statue of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of Puerto Rico. It stands in the Plaza de Colon, San Juan 25

United States Custom House, San Juan 88

The Infantry Barracks building dates far back into the Spanish regime, though somewhat modernized now. It still bears scars from the American bombardment of 1898 88

Cutting mahogany logs in Luquillo National Forest . . 89

The water-gate, ancient entrance through the city wall from the harbor. It leads up to La Fortaleza and is still in use as a driveway from the waterside to the streets on the next higher level 89

The Condado Hotel, on the Atlantic waterfront, with this lagoon from the bay in the rear 104

The Casino, San Juan, the center of social life 104

FACING PAGE

The road to El Yunque, Luquillo National Forest . . . 105

The orange vender is to be encountered in every plaza in every town in Puerto Rico 105

Ramp that spans the old moat and leads to the sally-port of San Cristobal 168

Showing the thickness of the old fortifications in San Cristobal 168

Treasure Island Camp—not an island but a beautiful inland resort among the hills, surrounded by a great pineapple plantation 169

Swimming-pool at the recreation center in Luquillo National Forest 169

The Atheneum, center of island activities in the fostering of literature and the arts 184

A campus view of the University of Puerto Rico, at Rio Piedras, a suburb of the capital 184

A cocoanut grove at the waterside 185

Intensive farming in the mountain valleys. These "acres on edge" are in the Cayey district 185

"El Morro," historic fortress and castle guarding the entrance to the harbor of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Construction began in 1539 and continued until as recently as 1776, when it was declared finished 216

Parade in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who visited Puerto Rico on July 6 and 7, 1934, passing the new Capitol Building and Capitol Plaza, San Juan. In the distance appear the harbor and business section of the city. Opposite the Capitol entrance is the World War Victory Monument and the reviewing stand 216

Swimming-pool in La Casa de España, built as a center of fellowship between the ancient regime and the new (but still Spanish) elements 217

Statue of Ponce de Leon, near the Cathedral of San Juan. In the Cathedral is the tomb of the great hero and adventurer 217

FACING PAGE

Entrance to the office and laboratories of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture at Mayagüez 248

The *jibaro* takes pride in his vegetable crop once he realizes the possibilities to his own advantage 248

A typical street in Mameyes slum, Ponce, to be attacked by the rehousing program 249

First great rehousing unit built by PRRA in 1937 at Puerta de Tierra, San Juan, to accommodate 216 families heretofore dwelling in that notorious slum 249

PRRA houses for rural workers begin to supersede the miserable huts of the past 264

Brick and concrete house constructed by PRRA and awarded to a PRRA laborer under the Coffee Program . . . 264

A principal street in "Berlin" slum, outskirts of Ponce . . 265

Mameyes slum. One of the problems under attack by the rehousing division of PRRA 265

The *jibaro* is a skilled laborer in his own line of work. He knows close cultivation—and he is not lazy, as lightly charged 328

Tobacco must be stripped by *jibaro* hand labor and hung up in the great curing-barns 328

Diversified garden crops, under the guidance of agricultural experts and PRRA 329

Reading-room of Workers' Camp at Villalba 329

Typical Vocational Education School Unit as built by PRRA with Federal funds 344

Mountainside fields and homes of the interior valleys characterize the farming regions as soon as the coastal sugar-cane plantations are out of sight 344

Bench terraces constructed by the Soil Conservation Service and Puerto Rico Experiment Station of the U. S. Department of Agriculture not only check soil erosion but increase the area of agricultural land 345

San Juan's attractive waterfront 345

A Foreword of Intangibles

IT would have been an incomplete undertaking to attempt a narrative of things Puerto Rican without a glance at the background, the chain of events which made the people and the problems what they are, and finally related them to the United States. Centuries of history under the Spanish Crown are the first factor in the equation, so the events of those vanished centuries must be summarized. But readers who take a livelier interest in the present and the future than in the past will find that Puerto Rican history soon comes to life. Geography and climate enter into the standards of living. A chapter of reminiscence may illuminate island characteristics, or clarify current news as fresh as this morning's paper. The episodes of industry and politics in Puerto Rico are history in the making.

Almost forty years have passed between the first vague resolution some day to write this book, and the present writing of the Foreword, following its completion. Indeed, it is more than that, for the absence of accessible material casting any light on Puerto Rico had been a disappointment for a year prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. That season of covering the Cuban insurrection and the surrounding circumstances made the lack of information an immediate regret.

Once in Puerto Rico with a war correspondent's duties, in 1898, even the surface observations proved highly engrossing. What the correspondent wrote then in newspaper service became increasingly interesting to himself, at least, and crystallized a determination to keep familiar with Puerto Rican developments and some day embody them all between covers. Assuredly the unpredictable happenings have not lessened in their significance. No one can pretend to have foreseen either the developments or the difficulties. One writer's book, however ambitious, cannot relate all things Puerto Rican.

After the years of observation, friendship, and recent renewal of extended research, it is still difficult to determine whether Puerto Rico is to be a problem child in our American family, or a veritable prodigy worthy of our every pride. So sparse even now are the convenient sources of information that a friendly effort to extend more widely a knowledge of the beautiful island, with which we share American citizenship, becomes its own needless apology.

Puerto Rico has produced a surprising number of men and women who have contributed to arts and letters, but until recent years the limitations of language kept them but little known in the English-speaking countries. Besides *belles lettres,* also there have been noteworthy examples of writing in the fields of history and science. At least two important and exhaustive bibliographies of Puerto Rican writings and publications, books, pamphlets and periodical literature, exist in Spanish, both of them recent, both published in Barcelona, and both worthy examples of the best in such compilations. These are almost bare of items in English up to 1898. If Americans had been interested in the island prior to that time, they would have found little such material of informative value or interest in the libraries.

Beginning with the occupation and the early transfer of sovereignty, there was a sudden expansion of the written word. The present writer had his part in that quick attempt to furnish information to the folks at home, by war correspondence and descriptive matter for book publication and otherwise, some of it surprisingly wrong in detail and in understanding, as he has come to realize during other years, but some of it still surprisingly accurate after the test of an apologetic rereading.

The first book offered by an American publisher, written by C. H. Rector of Chicago, was actually published there while it was still 1898. That author and his photographer came to the island as promptly as possible, and went about quite widely and freely under some difficulties. Naive as some of it appears now, I remember it as welcome then, and the little volume is still a valued possession. Many of the photographs that are reproduced show buildings and scenes which are quite unchanged to-day. Because of its position as the first book about Puerto Rico issued after the Spanish-American War, I credit it as possessing high interest now, and quote from it in fragments which make strange reading in contrast with the realities of to-day.

When that early author undertook to be precise, he was sometimes the victim of the language, and when he sought to prophesy, as it now appears, he did not possess that gift. Not all the things that he predicted forty years ago have come to pass. It is interesting to note one sentence in which the author summarizes the outlook and says, "It takes time to bring coffee, cocoanuts and such to a bearing state, but there is still room for planting, and with the whole United States as a market the prospects of this garden called Puerto Rico must be admitted to be bright indeed." In the light of the developments since that time—the virtual destruction of the coffee industry in the island, the negligible profit in the cocoanut industry, and the extreme overpopulation which is a part of the cause of the expansion of island poverty—those prospects upon which emphasis was laid are certainly not the ones which have come to fruition.

Another prophecy forecasts the completion of the railway around the island and the ultimate great prosperity destined to follow when American enterprise should succeed to the incompetent French corporation franchise and finish the line. With this almost completely accomplished years ago, the island highway system and the multiplication of automobiles have left the railroad with less rather than more traffic. The author of the little book does paint one picture, however, that confronts the reader to-day with more or less embarrassment. He tells of the delayed construction of the railway and concludes, "This will all soon, and very soon, be changed. American business methods are bound to bring results in this as in all other directions. The enterprising early visitors on the island seemed to prefer a cold franchise to flowers, oranges, and pretty things, as the franchises were well looked to before they had seen a plantation in the land. When we were in Ponce, about the time the protocol was signed, it was truly amusing to see the crowd of speculators gathering there, and all of them trying to get on the inside of something good."

The author next takes a backward glance at the evils of the Spanish regime and the looting of the island by Spanish military and political carpetbaggers and an oppressive priesthood, and the avarice of tax-gatherers and dishonest officials. Then he concludes—in 1898, remember—"The stars and stripes waving from San Juan will not increase the fertility of the Puerto Rican soil. Nothing but American thrift and industry will develop the agricultural and mineral resources. The little red schoolhouse must bring to the Puerto Ricans that mental training which will enable them to enjoy the blessings of liberty as we understand and cherish it. This will take time. The present generation will but imperfectly appreciate and accept American ideas, and it will behoove us to use patience with them, but the boys and girls, now soon to come under the influence of our bright and devoted school teachers, will readily, and eagerly, seize upon the wider opportunities that we can afford them." He closes the little volume with the hope that he has succeeded in "inspiring his readers with a love for the people from whose shoulders we have lifted the yoke, and with the firm belief that the new union will prove as pleasant to them as to us and to all humanity."

Mr. Rector took in a good deal of territory, but there can be no doubt that the somewhat grandiose idealism which he voiced did represent an American spirit of intention and naive confidence that we should do all those things, and should receive in return the universal gratitude of an intelligent, uplifted, happy people.

It was not so long ago that a large number of American school-teachers came to the island by a chartered steamship, making an educational tour of the Caribbean Sea and the adjacent countries. They were hospitably welcomed, and as one event in the hospitality were entertained by a reception at La Fortaleza, the Governor's official residence, with an incidental program of meetings and greetings to celebrate Washington's birthday.

At the end of a perfect day came a *faux pas* that made them gasp. A scholarly Puerto Rican professor of history in the University, giving them a résumé of island annals, and getting down to 1898, spoke regretfully about as follows: "As a result of our long-continued effort to obtain greater freedom or independence, a representative delegation from the island to Madrid was finally given the welcome news that Puerto Rico was to be granted full autonomy by the Spanish Crown. Just then, however, unfortunately, came the American invasion and conquest, so we never have had a chance to put our grant of liberty and self-government into effect."

The Governor who had to listen to that, and sense the appalled reaction of the astounded visiting school-teachers from home, will not forget the episode. As a matter of fact, the good professor was almost as shocked as were his auditors when he realized what he had done. It was the fault of his bilingual imperfection. He had meant to say, he explained privately, that it was unfortunate that the grant of autonomy under the Spanish regime had been so long delayed as to be too late, never put into effect even experimentally, and with no chance to compare the workings of such a grant with the immediate and greater liberties under the American flag!

Neither this episode nor any other should encourage generalizations about Puerto Rico, where all things, including the impossible, seem true at times. Certainly no one should permit himself to generalize too sweepingly from any few factual details or opinions he may meet. It is too easy—and too hazardous—to reason from the particular to the general, when the next moment may bring convincing contradictions.

It is in the recognition and the interpretation of unvoiced mental attitudes that the greatest difficulties are to be encountered by the observer who aims to get things right. Without identical centuries of racial background, how can one be sure that he sees the internal lights and shadows, senses the points of view that are not formulated, but congenital? Without those years and what lies back of them, in the crystallizing of history, the habits of thought and the habits of life developed in an insular colony which looked to Spain as the mother country, how can those who came in with the American "conquest," or at any time since then, expect to find their meanings interchangeable with those who were there before them? Equally impossible is it, or almost impregnably difficult, to expect that those with the ancient heritage of the island centuries shall understand more than vaguely the intended meaning, the groping at fellowship, the intent and aspiration of those relatively few who came from the north, and have endeavored, too often, to establish their ways not alone as right, but even as the only right ones. The words of a language, however fluently spoken, are never the only medium for the conveying of the subconscious meanings of facts and standards.

Perhaps something as apparently simple and inconsequential as the naming of this book may be made an example of difficulty with the intangibles. I made my own list of possibilities reasonably brief, and broached them to various island friends for observation and further suggestion. I was seeking to make a book that should be neither as casual as a traveler's tale nor as toplofty as a thesis, a book of understanding, with other elements reasonably intermingled. This forbade such titles as might use the first person possessive pronoun or any implication of "our" possession. Such titles as "Our Puerto Ricans and

Their Island" went out first. Even the gentled, double-barreled phrase did not prove to be innocent. It seemed to me finally that "The Puerto Ricans and Their Island" or "Puerto Rico, the People and Their Island" not only escaped offense, but carried an implication of fair recognition that the Puerto Ricans have the inalienable first right of possession there. Not so. Puerto Ricans challenged the implication that it was "their" island in any sense except in the national relationship.

"Pennsylvania is a part of the United States and Puerto Rico is a part of the United States," they averred. "The Pennsylvanians do not own the state in isolation, even though they create some of its characteristics, and the Puerto Ricans do not own the island. We have the same share of possession and fellowship in Pennsylvania that the Pennsylvanians have in Puerto Rico, and we don't want that implication of detachment in our rights and obligations. We don't want you to call this our island, any more than we want it to be called your island!"

There were more shades to the argument than that, but the point was clear and a title without coloration thus had to be selected. This episode in book-making may seem inconsistent with the now-and-then news of sporadic outbreaks in the alleged cause of "freedom," but in so far as that is concerned, all the citations merely illustrate the folly of attempting generalizations from news items so skeletonized that continental American readers can get but little interpretation of the facts.

This book consciously violates the most elemental canon of composition in that it does not give proper respect to the unities. It aims to depict Puerto Rico for those Americans who should know more about the island before forming opinions, and acting upon them, as to our mutual problems and fellowship. It aims to do this in some degree as a book of travel might do, descriptively and visually, with an infusion of traveler's tales to lighten it; it aims to do it as a volume of geography, history, and circumstantial fact might do; it aims to describe the industries and activities of the people, their manners of life and thought in their broad aspect, with frankness as to their excellence and their defects; and it aims to cover the factors of politics and political philosophy, the humanities, the aspirations, and the characteristics of the people. All this it attempts without a rigorous cross-sectioning or stratifying of subject matter, admitting inability to prove generalizations from the particular but nevertheless apologetically generalizing, recognizing ruefully the inconsistencies of the author's opinionated self, expressing opinions impossible of proof, and facts from which it is difficult to deduce conclusions.

The worst infraction of the unities lies in the fact that opinion and interpretation edge their way into chapters of travel; characteristic bits of industrial detail intrude themselves into matters of climate; political affairs thrust their partisanship into chapters on education, and there seems no way to segregate subject matter into a row of pigeonholes. This carries the hazard that injustice may have been done, but the writer knows that no injustice is intended.

It would have been easier to write a traveler's tale setting forth the quaint and curious, the picturesque scenery and the charms of climate; the splendors of the tropic moon, the brilliant stars, and the Southern Cross; the beauties of the flowers —hibiscus, bougainvillea and flamboyant; the big outdoor *patio* restaurant overhung by one great vine drenched with a million tiny white flowers, *la vela de novia*—the bridal-veil; the anecdote and the tradition, the exotic life superimposed upon the history, the traditions and the romance—all glamour. It would have been easier to set down the things distasteful, the things unworthy that thrust themselves into observation, the things that ought to be different; to talk about nothing but peasant poverty, and an oppressive sugar industry; hurricanes and earthquakes; adventures in sanitation, hookworm and malaria, anti-Americanism, demagoguery and assassination. Both those methods have been tried. All of it true, but over-accented, out of perspective, and barren of constructive sympathy and understanding. Things Puerto Rican too often have been written in terms of the hibiscus or the hookworn. Puerto Rico is something more than that.

Omitting personal acknowledgments, it is still necessary to speak of certain works to which interested readers may well turn for further reading. This author owes thanks to them for pleasure in the reading, and for access to the essential facts they contain. They are second only to the mass of official material published by the Federal Government and by the Insular Government through all the years since American sovereignty succeeded the Spanish, a wealth of material therein, however short of embellishment for the casual reader it may fall. Scores of such valuable official volumes have been source material for reference and verification.

By Federal and Insular enactment, the lawful name of the island is established and spelled as "Puerto" Rico. The names of companies incorporated prior to that legislation and adopting "Porto" as the spelling, remain unchanged in that obsolete form, so that both usages confront the traveler. Books mentioned, of which the title was spelled "Porto" are, of course, credited that way. In casual usage there were years of unchallenged inconsistency in the island, and likewise in Spain, both forms having their place in the Spanish language. But "Puerto" is now the one correct spelling, by all authority.

The first traveler's books of consequence were those of Frederick A. Ober, who wrote "Camps in the Caribbees" as far back as 1879, and "Puerto Rico and Its Resources" in 1892, long before any interest in the United States had fixed itself upon that out-of-the-way island. William Dinwiddie wrote "Puerto Rico and Its Possibilities" in 1899, as articles in the New York *Herald* and in *Harper's Weekly,* thereafter gathered into a graphic volume. Harry A. Franck nearly twenty years ago wrote one of his characteristic books of travel entitled "Roaming Through the West Indies," and Henry Albert Phillips in 1936 published "White Elephants in the Caribbean," both of these including chapters on Puerto Rico, vivid with dramatized adventure and spirited anecdote. They well repay their reading.

The most convenient, authoritative and understanding history, and more than a history, is the work entitled "Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle" by Richard James Van Deusen and Elizabeth Kneipple Van Deusen, both of them long residents in the island and appreciative of its every aspect. The monumental reference book entitled *El Libro de Puerto Rico*—"The Book of Puerto Rico"—and popularly characterized as the Puerto Rican Blue Book, is not what that characterization usually implies, but an exhaustive compilation, by scores of authors of high island authority in their various specialties, handsomely published in 1923. Somewhat obsolete in its covering of ephemeral things, it is still an essential for reference regarding manifold phases of island affairs not otherwise easily found. To all of the foregoing acknowledgment is due.

Local, Insular, and Federal officials in every degree of authority and every variety of duty were responsive and helpful whenever they were sought for information or opinion, and not once was effort made to divert inquiry from a question at issue or a delicate situation. Neither personal nor official friendships intervened to temper the author's own interpretations and opinions independently formed. Confidences were widely given and respected.

The photographic illustrations used so freely throughout the volume were obtained in but few instances from commercial sources. Many of them were of the author's own photography. More of them were obtained through the courtesy of the Insular Department of Agriculture and Commerce at San Juan, the Agricultural Experiment Station of the U. S. Department of Agriculture at Mayagüez, and the San Juan headquarters of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, either furnished from their files or specially photographed for the present use. Such cooperation was always generously given, and appreciated.

But again I return to the intangibles, the opinions and interpretations that always aim to be right and too often may be wrong.

It is in this realization that I have chosen to write in the first person singular for the present purpose, and thereby carry the blame for my own observations and conclusions rather than to misquote some friendly source of information. With that war correspondent's background beginning in 1898 and an intimate contact with Puerto Rican facts and conditions through a considerable stay after the armistice, my interest was enlisted and has never ceased. I prefer to make my own averments as to what I saw and heard and learned during recent study of things as they are. Thus the percentage of error will be my own. I enjoyed such generous hospitality in every quarter, was granted such exceptional access to facts and circumstances—sometimes quite inconsistent with one another; met intimately and confidentially so many men and women of varied opinion and occupation—sometimes quite contradictory; covered so many miles and so many details, that errors are inevitable. They will be mistakes of author's inadequacy in a confused, perplexing situation rather than of intent.

I could not adequately acknowledge the services or thank the friends throughout Puerto Rico for what has been done to make my wife and myself welcome and well-informed. We have found such friends in every quarter of the island and in every political, industrial, and social station, not merely those few that dated back with us to the summer of '98 and the passing of the Spanish regime, but up through the intervening years and so finally to this year's newest friends. Our thanks to them all.

There may be those who hold the traveler suspect if he makes friends. Surely he must have given hostages, and he cannot be frank with his facts to the hurt of his sensitive associates! I am mindful of obligations, and grateful for hospitality, but I trust also, and equally, the sincerity of those who thought I saw things all wrong or all right. They will not doubt my appreciation because they find me at variance with their judgments or their hopes, because I tell what I saw or thought should be different, what I thought good or bad in the beautiful island.

It is in such spirit that we concluded this study of Puerto Rico, hoping that it might be of service as well as of interest. This is no editorial "we," but the truly plural pronoun. The writer has enjoyed the advantage of his wife's keen perceptions—and admonitions—from the landing at Ponce in 1898 to the end of the very last questionings in San Juan in 1937. Even when opinions and conclusions were sharply divergent it became only another proof that the facts and the problems are perplexing—and that opinions differ!

Chapter I

THE BEGINNINGS SEEM ROMANTIC—NOW

FOR more than four hundred years from that day of proud discovery by Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, to the inglorious departure of Manuel Casado Macias, last of the Governors-General, Spain variously ruled and misruled Puerto Rico, the fruitful island whose abundant natural riches inspired its final christening. Before those exciting centuries were half gone they had established the Caribbean Sea for all time as the historic stage-setting of high and cruel adventure on its grandest scale.

The Spanish Main had early come to mean the merciless conquering and exploiting of new lands, new peoples, new possessions; wars for conquest, cross and king abroad, and the rewards of royal favor, power and glory at home; privateering, piracy, the buccaneers and their buried treasure, blood-stained gold and jewels. English or Dutch, French or Spanish or Portuguese, frigate under a royal standard or "long, low, rakish craft" flaunting the black flag, they differed chiefly in degree and in their immediate political alliances, rather than in the kind of depredations they might undertake.

Generally speaking, the same sort of allurements led all the adventurers overseas, some in the trappings of chivalry or the church, some in trade, and some for plunder. And once far away in tropic waters, temptation perhaps too easily might set the course—ravished coasts, captured cities, sack, rapine, pillage, booty, booty, always booty.

There is no intent here to summarize in one paragraph the headway of history in the Caribbean during those four centuries and a fraction; only to say that assuredly life at last became less violent, even there, or less frequently violent. Civilization developed new complexities. Some evils were ameliorated and some others came into being. At times it seemed as if men were coming to understand one another more tolerantly, more sympathetically, thanks to the greater ease of communication and contact. All of which applies no more and no less to the West Indies than to other lands and other islands. Nevertheless, to the very end of that period it was the mischance of Spain to stand in Anglo-Saxon estimation as the harshest of the historic oppressors.

So by wars internal or external, and through successive defeats and revolts, a South American continent was lost to the Spanish Crown, and likewise Central America, and the North American West Coast, and Mexico, until at last in all the Occident there remained but a few beautiful islands, large and small, as the continuing possessions of a decayed kingdom across the Atlantic. Even they were restless, and, in varying degree, rebellious. The spark of liberty was always a flame in Cuba, never quenched. It was the Cubans who never permitted to be forgotten that savagely vivid characterization of the proud Spanish flag, "a stream of gold between two rivers of blood." Events could not longer remain static.

The four centuries reached five years forward into a fifth, to 1898, and circumstance worked magic such as no prophet could have foretold. Circumstance without calculation, either in Spain or in the United States or in the West Indies, circumstance as nearly chance as man dare use that word, transferred the sovereignty over a rich tropic island and its people from a European kingdom to an American republic of another race, another culture and another language. Circumstance severed a political and colonial relationship which was more than a hundred years older than the oldest Anglo-Saxon settlement in that northern republic, as absolutely and definitely as an amputation, and established a new one as of the same instant. Magic circumstance could do that. Good omens were in the ascendent. And that was less than forty years ago.

Whatever condition existed in the island of Puerto Rico at the moment of transferred authority was the result of those elapsed four centuries—and the historic and racial factors back of them—the impact of man upon nature as they both were. The Spaniards as they came with their ancient background, the Indians they found and all but exterminated, the Africans they brought as slaves thereafter, the traditions and language and habits that crystallized, the course of trade and industry and agriculture, of material and cultural development—these were at once the factors and the footing of the four-hundred-year problem as of 1898.

As the physicist would relate it, the direction of any moving body is the resultant of all the forces that have acted and are acting upon that body. Be it a golf ball or a government, that is inescapably true, with emphasis upon the "all." Manner of thought, course of action, fall likewise under that same law. We of the United States had reached our individual and national tendencies as the resultants of our elapsed centuries and all that was back of them.

We followed circumstance southward less than forty years ago. Then when we took heed of what had happened by a veritable accident of destiny, the United States found itself a romantic figure in its own eyes, bringing release from the bonds of oppression to the people of an all but unknown Garden of Eden. And yet, at the time, that side trip to Puerto Rico, as a military movement, was hardly more than a casual afterthought of strategy, by-product of a rescuing expedition undertaken by benevolent impulse in behalf of suffering Cuba! Whatever underlying, unrevealed calculations may have actuated some of the political and journalistic manipulations which time and cynics like to unearth for us now from the archives, for a bit of bantering about the "little" Spanish-American war, there could be no doubt in 1898 that the governing motives of most Americans at the moment were expansively generous, even while they were also adventurous.

Thus the Puerto Ricans and the continental Americans from the north met for the first time, and thus a new resultant began. Alien each to the other in language, race, habitual practises and standards of thought and life, each civilization possessed an abiding assurance of its own superiority, a leaning toward boastfulness fairly well recognized as a national trait. We of the United States groped our way into a situation that we had never planned nor sought. Hid our bewilderment as best we could under the cloak of our own good intentions, which we never doubted. Worked hard through much discouragement, and grieved that those good intentions were not always recognized by their beneficiaries. Gave guidance and material resources, man-power and money where they were sorely needed. From the very first, gave freedom. Gave freedom so early and so fast, where oppression from on high had been the habit, that liberty often seemed all but indigestible, and the Bill of Rights too much to be appreciated.

Puerto Rico had passed four hundred years under the authority of Spain, and it was—whatever it was. There may be no Spanish phrase for our axiomatic "All times when old are good," but the state of mind still persists in the island. Chiefly among the young men and young women of the student body, who mix their restless demands for national independence to escape the yoke they bear as citizens of the United States, with their romanticized picture of the good old days of tyranny under the Spanish Crown. Not so with their elders, who have actualities to remember. They may cherish ever so devotedly some glamorous detail of the Spanish regime, some phase of picturesque life, some ties with a mother country whose severities have been mellowed in memory by the years. But with growing acquaintance and friendship with the serious inquirer the day comes when the most sentimental of them will give thanks that those "good old days" are gone forever.

The Americans (meaning our continental selves just now, and recognizing the confusion of usage that must be cleared up) have been in Puerto Rico less than forty years, less than one-tenth the duration of the Spanish regime. Assuredly they have made their mark on the ancient colony, and upon the superficial ways and standards of life. But it is still a Spanish island and a Spanish people in the broadest sense, racially, and so it will continue to be. Those who would have it otherwise are unrealistic or unfrank, all set for disappointment. There are things of surpassing value under way, others yet to be done through a course of many years ahead. Forty years against four hundred is a heavy handicap to carry in an effort to fit an exotic race into new molds. Much of that should not be attempted. Much of it will take infinite time and patience. Unhurried the task may be accomplished, done in fellowship between the two racial elements sympathetically allied, and without regard to the time it will take, or the matter of reward for the doing.

The beginnings of the Spanish regime—discovery, exploration, colonization and exploitation—may seem romantic now through the haze of four hundred and forty years. "The more distant, the more romantic," in most imaginations. It is always to be doubted whether the participants in each successive period are themselves conscious of what will later be called romance. Except for those few visionaries who, fortunately for mankind, are always there to see the color of things beyond, and things that are past, man is engrossed with the material realities which have to be confronted and overcome.

The body of truth and fable which has grown up in the dramatizing of the discovery gives us to believe romantically in a romantic Columbus. We are fortunate to have been granted a discoverer whose life from youth to death was artistically dramatic through struggle, discouragement, the whims of court favor, the destructive jealousies of rivals and enemies, wealth and poverty, glory and ingratitude, honor and chains. If we had not been so fortunate as to have Christopher Columbus as the discoverer we should have had to fabricate some other Columbus in his stead around whom the drama as inevitably would have been written, and the stirring record of wisdom, bravery, incident and anecdote that characterize the story.

More than one writer has quoted the apt reply credited to Columbus when Queen Isabella asked him what Puerto Rico was like. "Columbus tossed a squeezed and crumpled sheet of paper from his hand upon the table and exclaimed, 'It looks like that, your Majesty!' " What Columbus was able to see in his first glimpse of the island on November 16, 1493, an important date in his second voyage, and the days that followed, could have had no more accurate description in a single phrase. He was looking for the island even before he reached it. Voyaging northward among the Leeward Islands he had come upon captive Puerto Ricans held in slavery by some of their more savage Carib neighbors. The tribes native to Puerto Rico were among the more gentle of the islanders and paid the historic penalty of extermination for their gentleness. They called their beloved island Boriquen, soon corrupted into Borinquen, and this still remains as the ancient name of the island which constantly appears in current usage. That name is now to Puerto Rico as the name Erin is to Ireland, the phrase of poetry and sentiment.

When Columbus crumpled the sheet of paper to depict so graphically the Puerto Rican coasts and mountains and valleys, he did not know how prophetic and how accurate he was. Puerto Rico after four hundred years might still be characterized symbolically by that same illustration, particularly if he had used a sheet of parchment rather than a less durable scrap of paper.

For a few days after the first sighting of the island's south coast, the fleet of seventeen ships sailed westward, finally rounding Cabo Rojo, at the southwestern point of the island and continuing northward to the northwestern coast. Here a first landing was made at an Indian village now identified as Aguada, just south of Aguadilla. Columbus and his companions found a clean and well-kept Indian settlement, but no population. All the natives had taken to the woods, remaining unseen as long as the strangers stayed on shore. On the nineteenth day of November, by formal ceremonies, he declared the island a possession of Spain, officially superseding the ancient name of Boriquen by a typical Spanish christening, San Juan Bautista—Saint John the Baptist. One of the landing party was a young grandee from Leon named Juan Ponce. He was destined to become immortal by his bravery, his adventurous spirit, and his quest of the Fountain of Youth.

Columbus sailed away from Aguada never to return, but young Ponce de Leon rose to rank and responsibility in Hispaniola—Santo Domingo—larger and richer of the islands, where he heard rumors from friendly Indians as to the fruitfulness and gold of Boriquen. Somewhat the dramatist himself, he finally obtained from the Governor of the Indies, resident in Hispaniola, an appointment to conduct an expedition to the island of San Juan Bautista. They entered into formal agreement on June 15, 1508, providing for a distribution of the golden profits they anticipated, one-fifth for the King, two-fifths for the Kingdom, and two-fifths for the commander. A month later, Ponce de Leon and his army of fifty sailed from Santo Domingo City for the conquest. It was fifteen years since Columbus had made that first landing.

As was to be expected, the voyage had its delays and hazards, with halts by storm, a landing for food at Mona Island, and finally a safe anchorage in the bay of Guanica on the south coast on August 12, 1508. That date and place now have an American connotation. Guanica was the place of first landing of American troops in the Spanish-American War; August 12, 1898, was the day of the signing of the armistice that ended the Spanish-American War; and Guanica is now the headquarters and operating center of the greatest single industrial enterprise in Puerto Rico, the Guanica plant of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company.

Ponce de Leon's expedition made its way slowly along the south coast of the island, disembarking at various points, trading in friendly fashion with the natives from time to time, coasting eastward, northward, and westward around the eastern end of the island, and finally reaching the entrance to that safe harbor whose shores became the seat of authority and trade. He had viewed the Indian towns and villages in that slow course, realized the fruitfulness of the coast lands and the valleys leading inland to the mountain ranges. He recognized the wealth of the island he was circumnavigating, and with an imagination that looked far ahead exclaimed, "Ay, que puerto rico!"—"Oh, what a rich port!" Years later that exclamation appropriately embodied the name of the island, and its prior name, San Juan Bautista, became limited to the fortified city which we now know as the island capital.

Students of archeology, although none too numerous, have been interested and resourceful in studying the prehistoric remains discovered from time to time in Puerto Rico, and in the preservation of such archeological treasures as have been unearthed. Collections of value are treasured in various insular museums and in private possession on the island, and also in America and Europe. The studies of pre-Columbian life, family and tribal, are fairly complete, although the civilization they recall is all but extinct. What it did accomplished nothing tangible that is detected now in the usages and lives of the Puerto Ricans of to-day.

The native Puerto Ricans whom the Spaniards found in the island proved hospitable and peaceful, but forced labor in the service of the white man was soon established, and the natives fell into virtual slavery. Rebellion and resistance, beginning with surprise attacks on the Spanish masters, proved futile. A handful of white men with their guns and gunpowder, and pro-

- *Above:* The outmost sentry-box on the ancient fortress of El Morro, at the entrance to San Juan harbor.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

- *Below:* The topmost walls of El Morro, showing stairs and ramp from level to level.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

- *Above:* The Federal Building and the business center of San Juan.
- *Below:* The "sport of kings" is not neglected in Puerto Rico.

tective armor, met and defeated 6,000 Boriqueños. On a smaller scale, the conquest was accomplished as ruthlessly as the Spanish conquest in Hispaniola, Mexico and Peru. Only those natives who hid in the mountains survived, and this by mixture with the Caribs, their old-time enemies. The rest survive only as chemical traces in the names of towns and rivers, and in the names and current use of certain trees, vegetables and fruits, indigenous to the island and favored in the Puerto Rican dietary.

It was not Ponce de Leon's expedition of 1508 that led immediately to the founding of San Juan, or to the encroachments upon the native tribes which finally ended in tribal tragedy. The debonair adventurer continued his exploration around the island, thereafter returning to the beautiful bay which he had realized to be the choice location for colonial enterprise. He laid the foundation for one or two buildings at a favored spot a short distance inland, and also cleared ground for a small farm in the heart of the forest back of the harbor. This first little settlement with a hint of industry in its purposes became the first experimental farm in the New World for the test of European crops in American soil. The farm was called Los Reyes Catolicos, and the name still survives in the rural district so established.

Ponce de Leon left settlers at the little colony-site after some months, and returned to Santo Domingo in April, 1509, to make report. A second agreement with Governor-General Ovando extended Ponce's authority, made him first Governor, and established the island as the second Christian colony in the New World, colonized from its already-established predecessor in Santo Domingo. The new Governor set sail once more, this time with his wife and children, and the wives and families of those whom he had left in Boriquen, and immediately the developing of the new settlement began to take definite form. The church, civil officials, military officers, and ambitious plans for the future all entered into the colonial activities under the Ponce rule.

Issues and jealousies soon developed, not so much out of island circumstances as from the fact that controversies multiplied at home in Spain as to the New World possessions. The Council of the Indies supported Admiral Diego Columbus as the overseas Governor-General of the lands which had been discovered by his father, while Ponce de Leon was sponsored by King Ferdinand. The West Indies were still far away from Mother Spain, with communication infrequent and slow. The pendulum of authority swung back and forth as grants of soil and power were given to one petitioner or another, without a common understanding as to where the power really lay. Native tribes and chiefs who might have been peaceful under other circumstances found themselves entangled in loyalty or enmity with one armed faction or the other of their Spanish conquerors. Uprisings were put down by ruthless force under the urge of desperation. There were sorrowful years of slaughter and revenge to be passed before the peace of death was established.

Ponce de Leon himself, his youth past and his power and favor at court waning, welcomed the tale of the rumored Fountain of Youth in a land far to the northwest, and yearned to bathe in its waters, for the restoration of his vigor. With the permission of King Ferdinand the old adventurer began this quest on March 3, 1512, in search of golden youth. At least he found Florida, and returned to Puerto Rico in time to enter new strife there, over the matter of the slave trade. Again the pendulum swung, and again Ponce found his authority restored, with permission to abandon the unfavorable settlement of Caparra and to establish the permanent capital of San Juan. While this work was beginning, he made one more expedition to Florida, this time in quest of gold, and was wounded by a Seminole arrow, dying soon after in Cuba.

He never lived in his new capital, although the dwelling planned for him as Governor was made the residence of his successor and still remains as Casa Blanca. Over its walls flies the American flag. It is now the fitting and beautiful residence of the American commandant of our military forces in Puerto Rico—the Sixty-fifth Infantry, "the Puerto Rican regiment."

Chapter II

FOUR HUNDRED RESTLESS YEARS

THE Puerto Rican temptation which brought adventurers rather than settlers across the ocean from Spain was the lust for gold, although the placers of the island were never richly productive. The gold-seekers had no heart in the hard labor of agriculture, or, indeed, in permanent settlement. Hurricanes, famines, and plagues of smallpox and other illnesses, were the too-frequent lot of the island. The sixteenth century saw all those troubles, and likewise the introduction of the slave trade from Africa. Pirates and buccaneers were busy in the adjacent waters where they might intercept vessels with rich cargoes inbound or outbound, whether from the larger islands to the westward or the South American ports which became the source of the much greater wealth, shipped from Peru via Panama.

While these pests and depredations were working their havoc, while European wars overflowed into the Caribbean as hostilities involved English, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Spanish rulers at home, industries were expanding. The first sugar-mill in Puerto Rico was established in 1523; the cocoanut palm reached the island from the Cape Verde Islands twenty-five years later. Tropical products that we now regard as indigenous to the ancient island were brought there and developed under the fertile and favorable conditions that awaited them.

The warfare which harassed Puerto Rico for two centuries has little place here, although it contributed its share to history, literature and art, as well as industry. Without the hazard of those wars that compelled construction of the protective fortifications we should not have had the battlements of to-day, the cherished ruins which now lend picturesque romance to the capital city. Perhaps without the threats of a Sir Francis Drake, no El Morro would have been finished to defend the city and to conceal the gold assembled there for safe shipment under convoy; perhaps no American governor centuries later would have found La Fortaleza awaiting him as an official residence. Perhaps no San Cristobal, no San Geronimo, no rifle-pits, embrasures, sentry-boxes, dungeons, or military cisterns. It is the ruins that give the traveler his thrill. The price was paid centuries ago and the cost is forgotten.

Sir Francis Drake's is not the only historic name that crops up in the annals of those centuries of warfare during which the Christian nations were apportioning the colonial world according to the power and the profits. The Invincible Armada, Sir John Hawkins, Baskerville, the Earl of Cumberland, Sir John Berkeley, Vargas, De Haro, Bowdoin Hendrick, Sarmiento, Admiral Whetstone, Admiral Benbow, Marshal Alejandro O'Reylly, Colonel Tomas O'Daley, General Abercromby and Governor-General de Castro, with their soldiers and sailors, their brave men and their disasters, their sieges and landings and conquests through the centuries of colonial wars recall a veritable tangle of "famous victories" that pass with small significance in to-day's retrospect.

In 1595 Drake made a land and sea attack on San Juan, threatening to wipe the colony "off the map," but he was repulsed and compelled to withdraw. In 1598 Cumberland with his fleet and his troops forced the surrender of El Morro and the city of San Juan, holding English possession for five months, abandoning the island then without even the knowledge of the government in Spain that the evacuation had occurred! Colonial isolation across three thousand miles of dangerous seas, where hostile flags were awaiting their unwarned victims, was complete under such circumstances. Colonies as well as mother countries had to take care of themselves.

Twenty-seven years after the British occupation, the Dutch undertook a similar enterprise, only to be repulsed after the destruction of a considerable part of San Juan. On that particular occasion a hurricane of the first magnitude struck the island just in time to destroy most of the repairs that the inhabitants were making on their damaged city. It is hard for us to realize now, in the face of the excessive population, that Puerto Ricans were relatively few in number in those days. San Juan had been the capital and the capital prize for nearly two hundred years before the inhabitants numbered as many as 2,000. With the eighteenth century, however, and less frequent warfare, there was a more substantial development of agriculture and some increasing settlement by immigration.

In 1797, a large British fleet blockaded and assailed the city, only to be repulsed. This was the last time, until "the American invasion," that a hostile gun was fired in the island, and the ways of peace have been uninterrupted since then.

While threats of conquest hung over the island, prosperity had small chance to establish itself. Likewise, education, enlightenment, and civil liberties had small chance to develop. Continental Spain was never a cradle of liberty. The restlessness, revolutions, and release from Spanish oppression that stirred the Central American and South American Spanish colonies during the nineteenth century were potent in the arousing of a Puerto Rican public opinion, even though illiteracy and lack of communication left the mass of the people but vaguely informed as to the happenings.

Early in the nineteenth century a royal decree opened several ports to trade with North American and European friendly nations, where hitherto San Juan had been the only port and Spain the only outlet for Puerto Rican commerce. The theoretical extension of trade was only theoretical, however, for another ten years, because the Napoleonic Wars created such an upsetting as could not be overcome. Mother Spain became deeply involved, with the Corsican conqueror in power. The colonial authorities of Puerto Rico declared their loyalty, making a gesture in the direction of liberalizing the island government by that move. Nevertheless, the Spanish Crown, dethroned, gave little heed to the hopes of the island, and upon restoration to power in the peninsula became as indifferent and oppressive as it had been theretofore.

Although the movements were unsupported by armed men, there was frequent effort on the part of popular leaders to induce the Spanish Cortes to permit representation from Puerto Rico, to extend the application of the Spanish constitution and enact more liberal local legislation for the island, and to reduce the plenary powers of the Governor-General, exercised through strict military rule. Not until 1868 was there an outbreak of revolution which took violent form. In this incipient rebellion an American, Matthew Bruckman, was killed while resisting arrest. The records aver that the uprising did not represent the wishes of the mass of the islanders, who were still loyal to Spain in spite of the oppressions they were undergoing. The Spanish peninsula was itself in a turmoil of revolution, and the entanglements of the next few years were such as to make any adjustment difficult in a colony so remote from the seat of the peninsular affairs which monopolized all the attention of Spanish statesmen.

With the establishment of the short-lived Spanish republic the system of slavery in Puerto Rico was abolished in 1873, as the slave trade itself had been abolished years before. Under the republic the island was entitled to representation in the Spanish Cortes, a right which continued after the restoration of the monarchy. The republic was soon superseded, however, by a new kingdom under Alfonso XII. Prior to his coronation the Madrid Government had suspended most of the island's constitutional rights, reimposed censorship of the press, and closed the island institutions of higher education. Under the new kingdom the restoration of such few rights as were restored fell far short of what the welfare of the island demanded.

With all the rest of South America, Central America and Mexico out from under the Spanish yoke, the attitude of Puerto Rico remained more nearly loyal to the Spanish Crown than any of the new republics had been while they were still colonies. Even the revolutionary movement in Cuba, which was increasingly active for ten years following 1868, had not resulted in systematic disorder, protest, or revolution. Puerto Rico was regarded as "the ever loyal isle." When, however, various reforms were finally granted to Cuba, which Cuba demanded should also apply to the neighbor colony, Spain refused to concede this, and an assembly of protest, meeting in Ponce in 1887, while declaring loyalty to Spain, made various demands for the extension of their liberties.

Spain sought to suppress all such liberal tendencies by the most drastic measures. Known and suspected liberals of the highest prominence were persecuted, abused and imprisoned, even tortured. This policy continued until the colony experienced a veritable reign of terror. Some fled the island and others hid from the Civil Guard in mountain and forest. The freedom of the press and the mails was but a name. So relentless was the Governor and so extreme the situation that only after the conditions were made clear to Madrid by fugitives who escaped to St. Thomas was there any amelioration. Governor Palacios was removed from office, recalled to Madrid, and severely disciplined. The peninsular Government realized this time that it was better to conciliate than to exterminate her West Indian colonies.

Governor Contreras, successor to Palacios, restored the canceled rights but he could not erase the memories. From that day until 1898 there was always an active nucleus of Puerto Ricans insisting upon independence from Spanish rule, under which they could see no hope of true freedom. It had become too late to trust Spanish assurances as meant in good faith.

Even with this distrust established, Puerto Rico was never realized by Spain or by the outside world to be as fixed in its resolution to escape Spanish authority as was Cuba. For more than thirty years the Cubans had been in a state of intermittent insurrection, sometimes briefly quiescent, but always armed and alert. With the greater wealth of Cuba, its greater size and population and resources, and its proximity to the United States with the resulting ease of access and communication, the United States had become thoroughly informed as to the Cuban situation, perhaps erroneously informed as to certain selfish details actuated by doubtful motives not entirely Cuban, but still informed. The Cuban movement was sympathetically regarded by many Puerto Ricans who applauded the organization of the revolutionary party. At the very beginning of the proclaimed intent of this Cuban party stood the declaration that its object was to gain unconditional independence for Cuba, and to aid Puerto Rico to secure the same independence. Sporadic revolt in Cuba ended in 1895, and the revolution began.

Puerto Rican revolutionists felt that the opportunity was at hand to serve their island in the cause of freedom, and organized their leadership to accomplish that purpose. A Puerto Rican section of the Cuban revolutionary party was established in New York late in 1895, under leadership of those who had fled there for refuge following outbreaks in the island in which they had participated, all the way from 1868 to 1888.

The plans provided that operations should begin in Santo Domingo, opposite Mayagüez, across the Mona Passage, from which an invasion of Puerto Rico would be undertaken. It was believed that a landing of the revolutionary expedition in Puerto Rico would have the devoted support of large numbers of the population. One of the veterans of the last Cuban revolution, General Juan Rius Rivera, was himself a native of Puerto Rico, born at Mayagüez. He was designated Commander-in-chief of the prospective invading and liberating army, and with that title he went to Santo Domingo to make his study of Puerto Rican conditions in easy communicating access. The island leaders were unresponsive, nor was there any adequate response by the mass of the people. They proved apathetic, and submissive to the rule of Spain in the face of any call upon them to take arms in revolution. This was the end of that effort to organize a public sentiment in Puerto Rico for revolt against Spanish authority and ultimate freedom. General Rius Rivera relinquished his appointment, and returned to his command in the Cuban army.

Entirely aside from this movement, and, indeed, antagonistic to it, there had been an autonomy party in Puerto Rico following the overthrow of the Ponce meeting in 1887 and the resultant reign of terror. This party was planned to advance the cause of self-government within Spanish sovereignty, through a friendly alliance with the liberals in Spain. That movement made slow headway until 1891, when a young political leader developed in the person of Luis Muñoz Rivera, a name now cherished in the island for the distinction of his service to his people. He did not believe in the efficacy of armed revolt, and believing in the possibility of obtaining greater freedom by peaceful processes, he urged the revolutionists to suspend their action while this should be accomplished. Through his efforts a commission was sent to Spain to present the true situation there, and to urge a grant of autonomy. The revolutionists declined to suspend their own activities, which almost immediately suffered the suspension of failure following the Rius Rivera fiasco.

The commission upon which Muñoz Rivera based his high hopes visited Spain under his own chairmanship. The commissioners obtained from Sagasta, the then-famous leader of the Spanish liberals, an assurance that autonomy would be granted the island if ever he and his party came into power. That agreement was much too attenuated to content the island leaders of the movement for independence. They distrusted, perhaps, both the good faith and the power to perform, of any

Spanish party not yet in power, and felt that the autonomy outlined fell far short of the island aspirations. The value of the understanding between the Spanish liberals and the island commissioners was completely ignored by the New York committee of the revolution, who increased their activities and arranged for the smuggling of rifles into Puerto Rico for the purpose of the armed uprising which was expected to follow that first-planned invasion or another one. A prematurely attempted outbreak at Yauco, which the New York committee had not planned, came to utter failure.

Many of the leaders of the island people took heart from the Sagasta agreement which had been negotiated by the island commissioners to Madrid. There were those, however, who felt distrust as to the value of the headway made, regarding it as a gesture of compromise in Spain in the hope of averting island outbreaks. Cuban disorder was at its height, the protracted revolution there had taken a form which aroused the public opinion of the United States to a high pitch of dynamic sympathy, and Spain foresaw, or feared, at least, that unless freedom were granted the ancient kingdom was destined to suffer a major calamity, either by war or by a surrender of that ancient colonial treasure-chest. To avert such a catastrophe by a voluntary gesture of generosity to the lesser colony might have its strategic and tactical value.

Whatever the motives and the possibilities, Sagasta kept his promise. He came into power as Prime Minister in 1897 and promptly formulated the grant of autonomy to Puerto Rico. An elective Chamber of Representatives was to be established, chosen by popular vote as a lower house, one member for every 25,000 inhabitants, and a Council of Administration with fifteen members as an upper house, seven appointed by the Governor-General in the King's name and eight elective, with authority to enact and fix import duties, to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign powers with the approval of the Spanish Government, to legislate in local matters, to fix taxes providing for a public treasury, and to fix the island budget. Puerto Rico would continue to have its representation in the Spanish Cortes, and the Crown would continue to possess sovereign rights and military power through its appointive Governor-General.

Pursuant to this grant, on February 12, 1898, a cabinet of six Puerto Rican members was sworn in by Governor Macias, chosen from the two dominant parties in an apparent effort to satisfy all and command the confidence of the people. The members so chosen were those who had been the leaders of both island parties, men of leadership and recognized ability, with Muñoz Rivera, who had negotiated the grant of autonomy, himself named as "secretary of Grace, Justice and Government."

Even if the gesture were ever so genuine, with the sincerity of all concerned behind it, an earnest effort to find such autonomy for such an island workable, there was still no time or chance to make the test. Cubans had paid little attention or none to the advance of Puerto Rican autonomy. The Spanish regime in Cuba was steadily taking more intolerable forms instead of less, with reconcentration-camps for the helpless mass of islanders, and persecution, not only of Cubans but also of American residents, which could not be ignored. Two days after the proclamation of the new Puerto Rican Government, the American battleship *Maine* was destroyed by explosion in the harbor of Havana.

There was no time or opportunity in a state of war, with transatlantic travel and communication to Spain seriously interrupted, to establish the experimental government in Puerto Rico. The island people themselves, in the mass, were neither friends nor enemies of the United States. The people of the United States hardly knew the name or location of Puerto Rico. But it was a Spanish possession in the West Indies, vulnerable to attack, an "enemy" in military parlance, at least technically, and the fates were in command.

Those who were in the more active leadership of the struggle for liberty in Puerto Rico during that inconclusive movement were mostly young men. Those very men who helped to make history there, leading up to the grant of autonomy, nursing the hope that even under the Spanish flag there was to be a birth of freedom, are themselves a part of history, their names honored, and themselves honored either in memory or in person. Their sons are actual or potential leaders now, with pride in what their fathers accomplished, in the service rendered to the island and its people, and in what they may yet be helping to do in the establishing of prosperity, peace, and sound relations with their fellow-citizens of the United States.

Chapter III

No War Is "A Little War"

THE men who shared the making of Puerto Rican history during the four centuries of Spanish rule are embalmed in the annals. Those who have shared in the events of the forty years since 1897 are either still active or amply recorded in the files and in the developments still continuing. Thus near to the dynamic men and events as we are, it is perception and interpretation—a sense of proportion—which we need to do justice to the present. More has happened in the way of change in the last forty years than in the prior four hundred, and still the unchangeable is the element that registers itself most definitely upon the observer.

The prior chapter has summarized a few of the later gestures of revolution against Spain, leading up to 1898, but only a few. The nineteenth century was punctuated with sporadic efforts to obtain a greater measure of freedom, freedom of trade, liberty of action, and the commonplace privileges of free speech, free assemblage, and a free press. Suppression by force, imprisonment without trial, and censorship more rigorously applied were the chief results.

Government and business alike were chiefly in the hands of entrenched conservatives, regarding Spain as the home to which they might yet return with their fortunes, living until then as feudal lords in the island. Military officers and civil officials, even down through the ranks of local postmasters and mayors, were sent from Spain to take all the public positions worth while, and freely to feather their own nests from the island population as they found it possible, if only the affairs and taxes of the Crown were first protected.

It is not surprising that Spanish dignitaries, thus established, faithfully held themselves as Spanish, whether they founded plantation families of power and influence throughout the island, or business fortunes and households at the capital. Their children were sent to Spain to be educated, while the island remained illiterate. And yet both of these elements produced men of culture and vision who believed in a happier future for the island, whether by gift of freedom from Spain or otherwise. Some of them suffered martyrdom in the punishments they underwent as successive revolts were quelled. Some fled to the South American republics, and others to the United States.

To these latter we owe the fact that upon the outbreak of the Spanish-American War there was a small Puerto Rican colony of educated men, with a concept of freedom, living in New York and a few other American cities, ready to be helpful in the progress of events. From them had been organized such committees to cooperate with Cuban leaders as were then active, and from them came such information about Puerto Rico as was required by the Government of the United States for the practical purposes of war in that corner of the Caribbean.

A negligibly few Americans were acquainted with the island through business journeys or infrequent pioneering tourist travel. There had been an American consul-general stationed at San Juan in the person of Philip Counsel Hanna of Iowa, and there were a few American steamship agents and plantation owners, these latter chiefly South Americans and Puerto Ricans who had been naturalized in the United States, thanks to school and college attendance there, and the growth of their realization of the meaning of freedom under the United States flag.

From such meager sources had to come the information upon which a peace-loving administration under President

McKinley must improvise plans for war in the Caribbean. The War Department and the Navy Department were much farther along in the intimacy of knowledge of the Cuban situation, which had been explored and studied in the light of possibilities for a number of years. But if Puerto Rico is but vaguely realized and understood now, it was all but unknown then. Except for harbor-charts, obsolete small-scale maps, and a few traveler's tales, which are hardly the basis for campaign-planning, the concept of Puerto Rico was a blank.

With the declaration of war, Consul Hanna was called from his temporary shelter at St. Thomas to a conference with the authorities at Washington. The few Puerto Rican-born American citizens living in the island, and others in the United States, made haste to volunteer their service as civilians to the groping Government.

It was readily determined that whatever else might be the case, there should be no early military expedition to the island. Cuba was where the trouble had begun, the scene of revolution in the cause of freedom, the island of self-supporting natural resources, suffering torment from Spanish oppression of the civil population as a war measure against the revolutionists, and the place where American men and ships had endured persecution and attack by Spain, culminating in the destruction of the *Maine*. Cuba was to be the seat of war, the beneficiary of ultimate independence as the gift of the United States, and the setting of Spain's punishment. Puerto Rico could remain an afterthought.

The navies were the first arms of the service to make military moves following the declaration of war by the United States on April 25, 1898. The Spanish fleet under command of Admiral Cervera sailed from the Cape Verde Islands for the West Indies four days later, and on the same date United States scouting-vessels appeared briefly off San Juan. Their errand was preliminary to a possible blockading of the port, but more importantly to watch for Cervera's fleet. To find the

- *Above:* Cutting and hauling sugar-cane.

Photo by George McKenna

- *Below:* Guanica Central of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company, largest sugar producer and largest Central on the island.

Photo by George McKenna

AGENCIAS UNIDAS

- *Above:* The old and the new—a modern San Juan apartment house and the battlements of San Cristobal fortress overlook the Atlantic side by side.
- *Below:* Statue of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of Puerto Rico. It stands in the Plaza de Colon, San Juan.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

Spanish Admiral with his ships, and thereafter to capture or destroy them, was a primary objective in the plan of war.

If Cervera had taken refuge in San Juan as he did in Santiago de Cuba, it is probable that hostilities would have developed earlier around and in Puerto Rico. The blockading of Cervera in Santiago harbor diverted hostile activities from Puerto Rico until the Cuban situation had been cleared of hazard by the destruction of his fleet in the naval battle outside Santiago. Even so, there were destructive gestures by the American Navy on a few earlier occasions. On May 10 the first shot of the war in Puerto Rico was fired from a battlement of Fort San Cristobal at the auxiliary cruiser *Yale,* cruising at long-range distance as a scouting-vessel watching for Cervera. The *Yale* made no reply, and no further shots were fired from San Juan.

At five o'clock in the morning on May 12, Admiral Sampson's fleet of eight ships came into closer range, beginning a three-hour bombardment which was returned by the shore batteries and forts all the way from El Morro to San Geronimo. One American was killed on shipboard and seven wounded, but the vessel suffered no serious harm. On shore two soldiers and four civilians were killed, and some fifty others wounded, with damage to the Spanish barracks, Casa Blanca, and various churches and public buildings. Admiral Sampson's chief purpose was to uncover the Spanish fleet if it were in hiding in San Juan harbor—which it was not. The fire of the fleet at long range was in large measure directed to this objective rather than real attack or damage to the city. Most of the shell-fire, aimed in high trajectory to reach the target beyond, passed harmlessly over the city and fell into the waters of the harbor. Mercifully then, and to our full realization now, the casualties were few and the damage relatively small.

Three times during June there were exchanges of shots between the scout-cruisers continuing the blockade and gunboats attempting to drive off the blockade or protecting blockaderunners. Such operations were inconsequential in a military sense.

Basing the plan on the information assembled in Washington after one scouting expedition into Puerto Rico by an American officer, the War Department ordered Major-General Nelson A. Miles to organize an expedition for the invasion of Puerto Rico, this to follow as soon as Santiago should be surrendered and occupied. The expedition assembled in Guantanamo Bay, on the south coast of Cuba, and sailed for Puerto Rico from there, to the number of some 3,500 men, on July 21, 1898. By a change of plan this force which was to land at Fajardo, at the eastern end of the island, was diverted through the Mona Passage for a surprise landing at Guanica.

Before daybreak on July 25 the fleet of transports under naval convoy arrived outside Guanica Bay, and a small cruiser entered the harbor, scouting for submarine mines. Finding no such hazards a landing party of twenty-eight sailors went ashore, meeting a Spanish guard of twelve men who took cover in the village. The townspeople had already departed hastily. The commander of the landing party lowered the Spanish flag and hoisted the first American flag in the island. There was an exchange of small-arms fire and three Spaniards were wounded. The smaller vessels of the naval escort, and the transports, followed the reconnoitering party into the bay and the disembarkation began at once. July 25 is annually celebrated in the island as Landing Day.

While detachments of the invading force were establishing themselves on shore, word had gone by telegraph from the Guanica lighthouse to Yauco where Spanish troops were stationed, and from there, as well as from Ponce beyond, small reenforcements were rushed forward. No further exchange of gunfire occurred that day, but early the next morning there was a real skirmish between seven companies of United States troops and the Spanish troops, who were driven to retreat with three dead and thirteen wounded. This Spanish force, greatly outnumbered, made its way across the mountains through difficult country to Arecibo.

On the day of that same first landing, news of the invasion reached San Juan by telegram brought to the Insular Parliament—its last session—which had convened for legislation under the Autonomy Act so recently granted. From the date of the first called session, July 13, to this final date, was the entire span of life for this experiment in autonomous government. The disturbing news forced immediate adjournment. Governor-General Macias immediately issued a general order resuming full military authority over the island in this emergency, at the same time expressing his confidence in the loyalty of the people and bespeaking the help of all in their common defense.

From this time forward it is a military operation that has to be chronicled. Transports loaded with troops under battleship convoy, under command of General Nelson A. Miles, reached Ponce on July 28. The commander was immediately called upon by a commission composed of the British and German consuls and various leading merchants and others at the Playa—the water-front and landing a few miles south of the city—and arranged for surrender by the officer commanding a detachment of Spanish troops without resistance. The city was unfortified and in no way defensible, so that bombardment would have been mere destruction. The United States flag was raised and a proclamation was issued by General Miles declaring that the Americans had come to establish liberty, justice, and humanity; that protection of the islanders rather than war against them was the wish; and that he hoped for their peaceful acceptance of the sovereignty of the United States.

By the end of July the American forces on the island had reached a total of about 15,000 men, distributed along the southern coast-line at four positions, Guayama, Ponce, Yauco and Guanica. Roads crossing the island to the north coast from these points enabled a converging advance to be made, aiming toward the capital, which was to be blockaded and bombarded by the United States fleet. The campaign plans were systematically developed under the advice of civilian aides who were familiar with the interior valleys and communications. The plan would take advantage of such military roads as the Spaniards had been building through their years of occupancy. In a military sense it was a simple plan, and in its headway no great difficulties were expected.

Fortunately for the invaders as well as the defenders, only the earlier part of the operations ever came to test. The Americans moved forward along their several lines of advance as planned, the Spanish troops fighting rear-guard actions as they retreated slowly, both sides undergoing small losses of officers and men. On the twelfth day of August a peace protocol was signed establishing an armistice and the end of the war. Under the stipulations, no further advances of either force were to be made.

It has come to be a custom in the United States to speak lightly of the military operations in Puerto Rico, under the assumption that since the campaign was a short one, and the losses on either side were comparatively few, it thereby became a negligibly "little" war, entitled now to slighting references because of its dimensions. Of course, the answer is that there is no such thing as a "little" war. The truth is that to the soldier who suffers and dies, in any phase of any war, by the torment of fever or wound, and to his bereaved household, that war, however "little," is as final and grievous as if he had lost his life in the most gigantic of military operations. To those who saw the bungling courage which characterized our campaign on the south coast of Cuba, with all its wretchedness, and to those who also saw the bravery of American and Spanish forces in the brief Puerto Rican campaign, there is no smiling to be done at the soldiery except in recognition that they all did what they were called upon to do.

Military men who had not seen the terrain and the preparations for defense until after the end of Puerto Rican hostilities never failed to pay tribute to the quality of preparations made by the Spaniards to resist the invading forces. When the armistice came, the American troops along their various lines of advance had moved forward across the undefendable coastal flats and into the first foothills, following the Spanish retreat through its minor rear-guard actions. The armistice stopped the fighting just as the American advances were reaching the established defensive system.

From that moment they would have been ascending heavy grades through the mountains in the face of almost impregnable entrenchments, and gun-emplacements from which point-blank fire could rake every path and every road, from across deep and narrow gulches that forbade an "over the top" charge, however brave, to dislodge the gunners. The Spanish troops in the island, numbering a total of 8,233 regular soldiers and some 9,100 volunteers, could not have withstood indefinitely the reenforced advance of the Americans. The seas were closed, and Mother Spain could not maintain an army in Puerto Rico in the face of the United States. But clearly the fates were with the soldiers of both armies when the armistice was declared.

Chapter IV

THE ANCIENT REGIME COMES TO AN END

IT was not quite literally true that General Miles, leaving Major-General John R. Brooke in command of the expeditionary force, felt it necessary to issue an order forbidding American war correspondents to go ahead of the army and receive the surrender of towns and villages from local authorities. Nevertheless, it was true that a welcome of unexpected warmth awaited such Americans as found themselves in the island, whether with the army or elsewhere.

The consciousness was everywhere among the people, however vaguely, that the United States had first gone to the rescue of suffering Cuba and would confer liberty upon that island. Puerto Ricans knew little about details, but they rejoiced over the presence of these North Americans who had rescued them likewise, and were soon to relieve them of the Spanish incubus. Every Puerto Rican with whom any American came in touch wanted to establish gratitude and friendship. Puerto Ricans struggled with the names of historic Americans and besought lessons in the language so they could speak admiringly of Washington or Jackson without saying "Hor-heh Vash-ing-tone" or "Hen-erál Alehandro Haxone" as an evidence of cordiality.

Under the terms of the armistice, the advanced positions which the American forces had reached and occupied were to remain as they were, pending the slower negotiations for the formal treaty of peace. They had moved forward on their several lines where the Spanish military highway and the few other passable roads permitted some headway into the mountains in the converging campaign toward San Juan. Here, in these advanced positions, outposts and small detachments were maintained thereafter, virtually in the face of the heavily entrenched Spanish defenders who would soon have been in sharp contact with them.

These positions were well inland from the south coast where the landings had been made. They were at points beyond the coastal villages and larger cities and towns on that side of the mountain range. The spirit of the people along this coast of the island and behind the advanced lines was one of such goodwill and hospitality, as well as of natural desire to be civil to victorious forces, that war correspondents, with their conventional duties somewhat diminished, took great delight in going about at will.

The Puerto Rican horses that drew the ancient surreys or served under the saddle were small, but so were the distances. Correspondents rode about the countryside adjacent to Guanica, Ponce, Coamo, Guayama and Arroyo, observing the sugar plantations and the life of the people, visiting the smaller villages that lay off the track of the soldiers who had been hurried forward in the campaign, and, in general, enjoying this adventure of peace so near the edge of war. The village people made such visitors heartily welcome, and more than once an *alcalde*—the village mayor—hastened to present the theoretical keys of the city to a stranger, and literally surrender the place to a somewhat embarrassed newspaperman. There was this much foundation for the more picturesque story that has become fixed in tradition.

From the moment of the declaration of war the Spanish authorities had done what they could to create an obsession of dread throughout the island, forebodings of the cruelties that would assuredly characterize a Yankee war of conquest if once the invaders should set foot on the sacred soil of Puerto Rico. This particular phase of strategic preparation must have been intrinsic in the conduct of wars for many a century before the word "propaganda" was overloaded with its familiar implications of to-day.

Generally speaking, such notes of alarm were not taken too seriously. There was already a vague consciousness throughout the island that the United States was a land of liberty rather than of cruelty and oppression. The casual bombardments of May and June did not seem to intend a general destruction. After the American landings and the occupation of the south coast cities, Puerto Ricans soon realized that one characteristic of men and officers alike was a good-natured, sympathetic generosity.

The children learned this first, and when they and their elders found that the great American army mules of which they first stood in awe were no more beasts of prey than were the American soldiers, they took delight in getting as near to the camps, and as well acquainted with the invaders, on duty or off duty, as could possibly be accomplished. From the very first, the people regarded it as a gentle war, with the smallest possible intent on the part of the invaders to harm person or property.

While the terms of the treaty of peace were under negotiation by the treaty commissioners, both the United States and Spain appointed evacuation commissioners for Puerto Rico as they did for Cuba, who were to arrange the physical transfer of public property and sovereignty, and the details of the departure of the Spanish officials and their military forces. The Spanish commission in Puerto Rico, designated by Governor-General Macias, was headed by the military governor, General Ricardo Ortega. The three American commissioners, named by President McKinley, were Major-General John R. Brooke, designated as chairman, who was to remain on the island in command of the American forces and as Military Governor; Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, hero of the victory over the Spanish fleet off Santiago and storm center of the controversies thereafter; and Major-General W. W. Gordon of Georgia.

The meetings of the commission were to be held in San

Juan at an early date. Admiral Schley and General Gordon, with their staffs, could be easily enough brought to San Juan by a cruiser, as was done. But the stipulations of the armistice forbidding any advance whatever to be made by American or Spanish forces pending the completion of the treaty created some embarrassment for General Brooke, who was in military headquarters at Guayama. General Brooke was a poor sailor who took no pleasure in the prospective voyage by dispatch boat around the east end of the island, which would deliver him in discomfort at San Juan. His request by telegraph to Governor-General Macias for permission to pass through the lines and march to San Juan with a military escort, this as a personal courtesy, brought assent from the courtly grandee, who knew how to make gracious gestures even in defeat.

General Brooke possessed himself in patience while that privilege was being sought and granted, and his preparations for the three-day march across the island through the fortified lines were under way. So it befell that half a dozen correspondents obtained the unique privilege of making that march as part of General Brooke's command, and thereby saw that part of Puerto Rico under the most novel of circumstances.

It was a picturesque cavalcade that made march north by way of that branch of the Spanish military road which led over the mountains from Arroyo to Cayey, via Guayama. For the present purpose General Brooke had interpreted the privilege for him to pass through the lines with his staff and his personal escort rather liberally. He was accompanied by his chief-of-staff, Brigadier-General Michael V. Sheridan, brother of General Phil Sheridan of Civil War distinction, an ample personal staff, a troop of cavalry of nearly three hundred men, and army wagons with tentage and subsistence for the entire force.

General Brooke's personal kindness it was that enabled him to turn a blind eye upon the campaign-follower war correspondents, and so it befell that Mrs. White and I, in line of newspaper duty, first saw the heart of Puerto Rico. The only other survivor of that coterie is Thomas F. Millard, for many years thereafter a war correspondent of international distinction, and a specialist and authority upon Chinese affairs, through his long-time residence and editorship in the Orient.

We shall not forget the hour of reaching the entrenched Spanish outposts in an all but impenetrable tangle of mountain cliff and valley, gorge and precipice. The proceedings were formal, courtly and military, gracious but stern, as papers were presented. We do not forget the scene or the circumstances after all the years. Our military friends looked soberly upon the preparations for desperate defense. The ways through the masked entanglements were opened before us and closed in behind us once more. The flag of truce went forward, and our American detachments, with a small Spanish escort ahead, finally made its way by hairpin curves and difficult grades down to the valley floor. There at Cayey our own military command in the island now maintains an army post manned by the Puerto Rican regiment, the 65th U. S. Infantry.

The first night's camp at Cayey, and the second, at Caguas, brought the detachment by a short third day to its permanent encampment near Rio Piedras, a suburb of the island capital, where now is located the University of Puerto Rico. For each of the two nights that had been passed on the way, hospitality had been offered to General Brooke and his personal staff, once by the *alcalde*, the other time by a citizen of substance. The correspondents had looked out for themselves, until, by a chain of circumstance at the end of the second day, they made an adventurous dash of their own from Caguas right into the capital, twenty-five miles away. They reached shelter in darkness at the old Inglaterra Hotel, with neither military pass nor credentials, entering "the enemy's" fortified island city which was still under the Spanish flag in time of war, despite the armistice, without existing privilege, right, safe conduct or flag of truce from any one to any one! That adventure has connotations and a story of its own, without a place in these pages.

Atmospherically, the next few weeks at San Juan were as different as could well be imagined from the weeks just past. Ponce was a commercial city with little historic background. The roadstead was alive with anchored vessels—army transports and their naval escorts, colliers, supply ships, hospital ships and dispatch boats. The Playa and the landing stages were lively with arrivals and departures. The temptations of current trade brought tramp steamers under every flag into port, and the temptations of business opportunity that might develop for the first adventurers to stake out the claims brought men, almost as truly tramp traders and speculators as were the vessels of the rusty-sided nondescript fleet.

With trade stagnant as it had been during the recent months since the declaration of war, the merchants of Ponce gave hearty welcome to every stranger who might bring money in his purse or favor from the unknown authorities of the victorious United States. Some of the adventurers brought credentials from Washington, and some brought nothing. The Government wished to permit the reopening of trade and the restoration of local prosperity after the period of closure as promptly and as freely as possible, with the fewest formalities. Passenger steamers did not exist, but transports and even hospital ships were induced to accommodate such travelers as could prove their right to make a voyage, or could command influence and privilege from Washington.

San Juan lived in a different atmosphere. It was still under Spanish authority, official, military and civic. Washington had less privilege to throw open the harbor of San Juan and the doors of opportunity. The cruiser *Cincinnati* anchored in the harbor as a gesture of good-will and a measure of dignity in recognition of the presence of the evacuation commissioners. Such few Americans who had natural reason or right to be there were the commissioners themselves and their small personal staffs; United States Consul Hanna, returning to his post and his home after the months of absence during hostilities; and such few other Americans as had earlier interests in the island and came back to resume residence and restore their affairs to the regular course.

Life in San Juan became more feverish and yet more natural than it had been during the three months of the blockade. The sense of hazard was lifted. Cable communications by the lines of the British company had never been severed, and mail service was now resumed. Spanish liners came and went at will, more freely than did American tramp ships.

Of course, the fact that San Juan was the ancient capital made it more truly Spanish and less Puerto Rican than any other city on the island. More officials came and went directly between Spain and Puerto Rico, and they were the last of all to become Puerto Rican. The army officers were Spanish, not Puerto Ricans, and so were most of the military force maintained in the island. The civil officials were practically all Spanish, because preferment and appointment tended that way. Many of the leading business men, importers and exporters, bankers and brokers, and, indeed, a considerable number of the professional men, were Spanish rather than Puerto Rican in their mental attitudes.

These elements were the ones who regretted the passing of the Spanish regime and the readjustments which this would mean. The mass of the people in humbler station, and in but small measure the beneficiaries of any phase of Spanish rule, were happy under the course of events which had changed the sovereignty of the island. It was they who contributed the enthusiasm of welcome to the American forces, the hospitality and friendship which they felt toward every American. Those of the truly Spanish group could hardly be gay under the circumstances.

The plaza was brightly lighted as darkness came on, the conventional *pasear*—the evening promenade for an hour in both directions, around and around the narrow walks—was restored to its regular place in exercise, salutation and sentiment. The bands played, the cafés were bright and busy, the afternoon chocolate hour after the siesta led up to the starlit night and the sound of guitars from dark hallways as of old, and life became much as it had been. Only two things were really different: the mass of the people were not merely gay, but they were happy that the new regime was at hand and the days of their oppression were at an end. The Spanish element could not be gay, and it was certainly unhappy at the downfall of the Spanish regime in "the ever faithful isle." It was their hearts that were wrung, their problem as to themselves yet to be solved.

Americans in San Juan were conscious of all of the foregoing circumstances, and considerate of them. It remains in my vivid memory that the Americans, who were really few, and the Spanish people whom they had occasion or opportunity to meet, were particularly courtly to one another, aiming to make the best possible impression for the sake of their countries and their fellow-countrymen. The Spanish element was never more dignified, never appeared to better advantage, than in this particular test of trying circumstances.

Formal official contacts had to be made, of course, between Spanish authorities and American authorities charged with specific duties, but there was no American move to occupy headquarters in San Juan homes, as has been so commonly a military conventionality after a military victory. Not even did the oncoming authorities hastily take over the public buildings for their own needs and purposes. The possessions, the rights and the feelings of the community, never had more respect than in that period of transferring sovereignty.

Captain Colby M. Chester, on board his cruiser in the harbor, exchanged hospitality now and then with the evacuation commissioners who lived with their staffs at the Inglaterra. The old hotel became brilliant with brass buttons and dress uniforms. General Brooke at Rio Piedras made similar exchange with his American colleagues. Every punctilio was maintained. It was all on the scale of what Robert Louis Stevenson called "a footnote to history," but it was no less significant.

Finally the day came when the first call upon the Spanish Governor-General and his designated evacuation commissioners was to be made by the American commissioners, to pay their respects and to establish the first contact for the beginning of negotiations. In full panoply of carriage and mount and uniform to the last glittering button and aiguillette, sword and scabbard, staff and escort, the three commissioners passed through the narrow, crowded streets toward the Palace, now as for centuries past the seat of authority.

The great throne-room of La Fortaleza, maintained in dignity with the vacant throne itself always actually ready for Spanish royalty if the monarch should chance to appear, stately hall of reception by the Captains-General for nearly three hundred years, looked out upon Calle de la Fortaleza from its balcony windows then as now. I cherish it as another vivid memory of that morning, how I went to that Palace and that room, bespeaking a correspondent's privilege, and was granted the patient courtesy of the Spanish staff-officer in charge for that most poignant of occasions. It was a moving experience, an event to be cherished in retrospect.

I prize a renewal of that vivid memory by recent good fortune in San Juan. On that historic day in the throne-room a young Puerto Rican dentist who had been educated in the United States, with fluent command of the English language, acted as official interpreter between the Spanish commissioners and the American commissioners, a service of importance because of the delicacy of the circumstances and the compelling need of precision. He was a strapping figure of young manhood, perhaps six feet three in height, and well built in proportion. The newspaper correspondents who were in San Juan remembered him long thereafter for his manifold courtesies.

In the long interval since that year of 1898, chance has never permitted our orbits to cross for another salutation. In San Juan only a few weeks ago he learned of my presence and knocked at my door, the same sturdy figure, active in his profession, and remembering with natural pride his essential part on that significant day in the ancient throne-room of the Palace. Correspondents then and historians since have pictured Dr. Manuel V. del Valle as an interesting figure in the situation and one of the valued factors in establishing good-will and an understanding of Americans among the people of Puerto Rico, to whom his loyalty has been equally unqualified.

The sessions of the evacuation commission which began at once following this formal affair of September 10, 1898, continued until mid-October, by which time every detail had been agreed upon. October 18 was set as the day when the American authority should begin and the American flag should be raised. Governor-General Macias left the Palace on October 16, with every honor paid to him, and went aboard the Spanish steamer which was held there for his use, sailing for Cadiz on the following day. General Ortega had been designated as temporary Governor for the brief interval remaining, occupying quarters in the Arsenal, which had been officially designated by General Brooke to be Spanish territory until the last of the Spanish troops should sail away. This detail ended on October 23, when the last of the Spanish forces and officials sailed from the island.

The ceremonies at noon on October 18, when the American flag was first raised, did not include the presence of any Spanish official. They spared themselves that distress, remaining in their own headquarters. On the evening of October 17 the Spanish flags which still remained floating over all public buildings were lowered at the conventional sunset, never to be raised again. They are still preserved in the Artillery Museum of Madrid. The flag-raisings which occurred at noon throughout Puerto Rico on the eighteenth were impressive events alike to the people of the island and to the Americans. Those patriotic Puerto Ricans who had led in the effort to obtain some approach to freedom from Spain through many years, and who had been instrumental in obtaining the grant of autonomy, felt by right the seriousness of the day, and must have wondered what would befall under the new regime. It is told by those who were present at those flag-raisings throughout the island that the scenes were invariably impressive, with silence and solemnity as the marked characteristics. The sovereignty of Spain was at an end, and that of the United States was established.

Chapter V

SELF-GOVERNMENT, STEP BY STEP

IT is of little speculative value to attempt imaginings as to the course of affairs in Puerto Rico if the Spanish-American War had not interrupted the installation of such autonomous government as was wrung from Spain in 1898. Whatever the future might have been, that experiment was at an end before it was fully begun. After a line by line analysis of the terms of the autonomy proclaimed by Spain for the island, and comparison with the Organic Act under which Puerto Rico is governed, authorities agree that the form of government established for Puerto Rico is infinitely more liberal than what was formulated by Spain under pressure, too late to serve any purpose.

The next succeeding authority was established atmospherically by military proclamation issued on the twenty-eighth of July, 1898, by Major-General Nelson A. Miles, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces. To the inhabitants of the island he proclaimed: "We have not come to make war upon the people of a country which has been for several centuries oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection to you and your properties, exalting and imposing on you the guaranties and blessings of the liberal institutions of our Government. It is not our purpose to interfere with existing laws and customs which are good and beneficial to your people, provided they are in accordance with the principles of the military administration and with those of order and justice."

Of course, this proclamation had its only actual potency behind the American lines but it obtained circulation throughout the island and had its value in the interpreting of American motives. Coincidental with the departure of the Spanish officials and military forces, and the assumption of complete American authority on the eighteenth of October, 1898, the following proclamation was issued from military headquarters: "With the cession of Puerto Rico and adjacent islands to the United States the political bands joining its inhabitants to the Spanish monarchy have been severed, and meanwhile, until Congress takes final action, the President of the United States as commander-in-chief has placed the recently acquired territory under military government, which is absolute and supreme."

The foregoing proclamations giving force to the victory and the provisions of the armistice and evacuation terms led up to the treaty of peace signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, and proclaimed by President McKinley on April 11, 1899, following its ratification by the United States Senate.

By the Treaty of Paris one clause ceded the island to the United States, leaving to the determination of Congress the civil rights and the political status of the native inhabitants. It was stipulated that resident Spaniards, born in Spain, might remain in the island if they chose, still preserving their Spanish citizenship and their allegiance to the Spanish Crown.

At the moment of transfer, General Brooke became military governor of the island by presidential appointment. On the twelfth of April, 1900, a law was passed by Congress, known as the Foraker Act, to establish the beginning of a civil government superseding what until then had been unqualified military rule, this law to take effect on the first day of May. On that day the first American civil governor was inaugurated. In the nineteen months that had elapsed, three successive military governors had held office, Major-General John R. Brooke, Major-General Guy V. Henry, and Brigadier-General George W. Davis. General Brooke remained in command for three or four months, General Henry lasted a little longer, and General

Davis served for one whole year prior to the establishment of civil government.

Of course, the treaty of peace as well as the practise of mankind and the circumstances already established in the island provided that there should be no molestation of private property. Confiscations and requisitions were no part of the American campaign of invasion nor of the American purpose thereafter. Neither did the change of sovereignty affect the ownership of such buildings and ground as were owned by municipalities, town halls, parks, etc. Only those properties which were possessions of the Spanish Crown fell now to the successor ownership of the United States Government. Fortresses and palaces, barracks and prisons, military rest-houses along the military highway—such possessions automatically became Federal property just as are post-office buildings, army barracks and the like in the United States.

It was a prompt necessity of the most elementary nature that political prisoners of Spain, still serving their penalties in island prisons for infractions of Spanish law in earlier efforts to enlarge the liberty of Puerto Rico, should be found and set free. It was similarly essential to preserve the habits of law and order, and to respect Spanish law that had been administered in the Puerto Rican courts for the punishment of non-political criminals, even though those courts and the penalties they were invoking might not interpret offenses by our established standards in the United States. This indicates some of the immediate perplexities involved in the improvising of an insular government under the successive military governors. Necessarily they had to take counsel with Puerto Ricans who had been in civil office, assuming the good faith of their efforts to establish a better regime, even though they were jointly determining and administering matters without a clear, adequate, common understanding.

Whatever might be true elsewhere, however, the military prisons were the simplest problem that had to be solved at once. The dungeons of El Morro and San Cristobal could not be permitted to confine political prisoners of the last regime under the new authority.

Indeed, most of those doors had swung wide open even before that problem reached the Americans. The ponderous hinges, locks, bolts and keys, hand-wrought on the anvils of centuries for those fortress dungeons, still remain a shockingly picturesque reminder of ancient wrongs. By some informal waiver of possession they were stripped from their place in that confused period between Spanish defeat and American possession, sequestered, and saved. When the first squads of American soldiers began systematic exploration of the labyrinthine depths, they found many of the massive doors swinging free and, of course, the prisoners gone. I have seen with interest a capacious cabinet in a fine Puerto Rican home, where all that grim hardware, framed and labeled with its historic identity, rests as a forbidding souvenir.

One may regard sympathetically the restlessness of Puerto Ricans under that military government, directed by army officers unpractised in civil administration, and unable to command a common language which might make common understandings more readily reached. One may regard with similar realization the impatience of those same military men toward the unresponsiveness they found among the Puerto Ricans, their failure to appreciate the good-will which was felt toward them, and the earnest efforts that were made in their behalf. Under such circumstances, it is easy to engender impatience and misunderstanding. It became early apparent that a military administration was not the agency through which peaceful understandings and aspirations could best be fostered. Unskilled in colonial administration as the United States had been, with no practise in that art, there was still an imperative need to establish a civil government, even though it were improvised, with corrections to be made as circumstances might suggest.

The people of the United States, in so far as they kept themselves informed and interested, were just as earnest as were the people of Puerto Rico to terminate military government, and establish such measure of self-government under civil law as could be fitted to the island. Continental Americans, then and ever since, cherished the conviction that Puerto Rico, once granted its measure of freedom, would responsively settle into the practise of that freedom, precisely as the existing States and territories of the Union had done through the century of expansion that was ending. Somewhat naive though that conviction may have been, it represented the spirit in which events in sequence were expected to follow—the lifting of Spanish oppression, the conferring of freedom and fellowship upon the liberated island, and the peaceful, prosperous establishment for all time of liberty under the American flag.

The Foraker Act of April, 1900, was entitled "an act to provide temporarily with revenue and a civil government for the island of Puerto Rico." What was acknowledged in that title to be a temporary measure remained in effect until the passage of the Jones Act in March, 1917, a seventeen-year period always regarded as temporary, thus succeeded by another measure of slower establishing which now has been in effect for twenty years. This latter enactment, with various amendments of form and detail from time to time without a change in its broad provisions, is known as the Organic Act under which Puerto Rico now is governed. Printed as it is in both languages for ready comparison, the English text on left-hand pages and the Spanish text on the opposite right-hand pages, this is the charter of liberty as Americans see it, and as most thoughtful or literate Puerto Ricans view it. At the same time, in the estimation of the restless exceptions, it is the charter of oppression under which Puerto Rico groans, in futile effort to shake off the chains.

Absurd as such phrases may sound, it is not to be denied that in small number there are such extremists, establishing their leadership among the impressionable youth and stimulating those very disturbances that become immediate obstacles in the path toward further liberties. While it is true that administration through human instrumentalities interprets the daily applicability of law to life, however imperfectly, the Organic Act becomes the ultimate authority. Americans whose attitude toward the rising problems should be correctly grounded may well examine that basic legislation itself, and judge whether it was wisely or unwisely established.

The Foraker Act—seventeen years temporary—although now long repealed and superseded, deserves a glance in order that the contrast thereafter shall be understood. Under that Act the civil government of Puerto Rico began with a Governor appointed by the President of the United States, an Executive Council, and a House of Delegates. Inevitably, as through all the years since 1898, that governor was invariably appointed by the President from the continental United States. The Executive Council was composed of eleven members, all of them appointed by the President, five of them to be natives of Puerto Rico, and six from the continental United States. Six departments of government were established under the Governor, and the six members of the Council not natives of Puerto Rico were the appointed chiefs of the six executive departments.

The lower house—the House of Delegates—was composed of thirty-five members elected every two years by popular vote, five from each of seven electoral districts throughout the island. The House of Delegates had power to legislate on all matters of local character except on franchises and concessions for public services. These were granted by the Executive Council and the Governor. Laws and resolutions had to be approved by the Executive Council which, when the legislature was in session, met and acted as the upper house, forming thus with the House of Delegates the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico. Tariffs and commercial treaties, as well as the laws of bankruptcy and others of vital importance, remained in the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress at Washington.

All custom-house receipts as well as internal revenues were to be paid into the Insular treasury, to be used for the expenses of the island. A resident Commissioner at Washington, elected by the people of Puerto Rico, was to represent the island in Congress, with power to speak on any subject pertaining to the island, but without vote. The inhabitants of the island were declared to be "citizens of Puerto Rico" unless they affirmatively chose otherwise, under the provisions of the Treaty of Peace, which permitted those who desired to retain and signify their Spanish citizenship. Spaniards to the number of 5,230 registered under this provision.

In the seventeen years that followed the proclamation of the Foraker Act there was recurrent dissatisfaction in the island over the fusion of executive and legislative powers, allotted to six of the members of the upper house who were also heads of departments. It was widely recognized, however, that these department heads, all of whom were continental Americans, were immune from entanglement with island politics, wholely disinterested, and actually striving for the efficiency of government and its application without favor.

The enactment of the Organic Act, generally known as the Jones Act of 1917, was regarded throughout Puerto Rico as a noteworthy extension of the privileges of self-government to all the people. The fact that they were pleased is eloquently proved by what happened in the matter of citizenship. Theretofore Puerto Ricans had been characterized as citizens of Puerto Rico. By the new measure Puerto Ricans were declared to be citizens of the United States. It was provided also that for a term of six months those who wished to remain under the old status of citizens of Puerto Rico, losing thereby their right to be voters and their eligibility to public office, might do so by appearance before a court to be so registered.

Exactly 288 Puerto Ricans out of the entire population relinquished their American citizenship in this way, and thereby proved themselves to be the survivors of the die-hard period. Many of these have since become naturalized American citizens. American citizenship unqualified thus became the status of our Puerto Rican fellow-citizens, as irrevocably as of those from any other part of the United States.

The Organic Act begins with the reenactment of the Bill of Rights, the same Bill of Rights which all Americans cherish for the protection of the citizen, his person, his liberty, and his property. Newly enacted for these new Americans, it might well be reprinted and reread more frequently by all of us, for it is no less stirring to continentals than it is to Puerto Ricans. Some of its provisions are all but unfamiliar to us nowadays, because it seems impossible that they should ever have needed to be proclaimed. But there they are, protecting the freedom of speech and of the press, the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances, and all the other fundamentals. It is still a noble catalogue in its provisions and in its implications.

Intrinsically interesting as one finds the formulated Organic Act, which in effect is a constitution for Puerto Rico, while at the same time it falls within the Constitution of the United States, it would reach undue length to print or summarize it here. The Constitution of the United States did not automatically apply to Puerto Rico upon the passing of the Spanish authority, nor thereafter except as enacted by Congress. By the provisions of the Organic Act, however, all statutory laws of the United States, not locally inapplicable, except the internal revenue laws, have the same force and effect in the island as in the United States, unless otherwise provided by Congress.

It is an item of special interest, however, bearing upon the liberality of spirit toward Puerto Rico, that the United States relinquished to the Insular Government of Puerto Rico, for the public purposes of the people of Puerto Rico, all of the public buildings, properties, harbor works, lands, minerals, etc., which had been possessions of the Government of Spain, and in which the title had passed by the Treaty of Peace to the Government of the United States, except such of these as had been taken over for the use and need of the United States.

Once more it was provided that the revenues collected by the United States in Puerto Rico under the internal revenue laws, and through the custom-house as duty upon imports, should go into the treasury of Puerto Rico as an Insular income, and not be regarded as part of the revenues of the United States Treasury as is the case in every State of the Union.

Under the Organic Act the chief executive official of the Insular Government is the Governor of Puerto Rico, appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, and holding his office at the pleasure of the President, maintaining his residence and office in San Juan. His duties are akin to those of governors in other territories and in the States of the Union, although he is required to make direct annual report to the Secretary of the Interior.

Of the heads of the seven executive departments which are created, two are appointed by the President and confirmed by the United States Senate, the Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Education, and five by the Governor of Puerto Rico, confirmed by the Insular Senate. These heads of departments are known as the Executive Council. It is not provided whether the presidential appointees shall be of island or continental residence, but those appointed by the Governor must have resided in Puerto Rico for at least one year prior to their appointment. The members of the executive departments forming the Executive Council have no legislative powers, and do not sit with the Legislature in any capacity. It is provided that the President shall designate the head of an executive department of Puerto Rico to act as Governor in the case of a vacancy, or in the temporary absence of the Governor, and the one thus designated exercises all the powers and performs all the duties of the Governor during his period of such service. As a practise, presidents have been accustomed to designate one of their own appointees to the Executive Council as Acting Governor, rather than one of those who had been appointed by the Insular Governor.

The executive departments created by the Organic Act are the departments of Justice, Education, Finance, the Interior, Agriculture and Commerce, Labor, and Health. The fact that the departments of Justice and Education are those whose heads are appointed by the President, indicates the fundamental importance of those jurisdictions which is implied in the original legislation. Justice and education in Puerto Rico were from the beginning, and are to-day, the indispensables beyond all other functions of government, out of which all other aspirations and developments must spring.

The Legislature of Puerto Rico consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. Seven senatorial districts elect two senators each, and, in addition, five senators-at-large are elected, thus creating a Senate of nineteen members. This displaced and superseded the appointive Executive Council, which had theretofore been one of the most objectionable impairments of self-government as Puerto Ricans saw it. The House of Representatives consists of thirty-nine members, one from each of thirty-five representative districts and four representatives-at-large. The Senate and House alike are elected for terms of four years. Eligibility requires that Senators shall be at least thirty years of age and Representatives at least twenty-five years of age, and literacy in either the Spanish or English language is another requisite. Theoretically, proceedings in both houses are bilingual. In practise, the Spanish language is the language of the proceedings. Compensation of members of both houses is established at the rate of seven dollars per day during either regular or special sessions, and traveling expenses each way, once for each session, at the rate of ten cents per kilometer, which is about the same as thirteen cents per mile.

Throughout the entire period since the Organic Act was passed the Insular Legislature has been composed exclusively of Puerto Ricans in both houses, except for one member from the continental United States, long resident in the island, who served for eight years following 1920. No other member born outside the island has been elected, except a few who were Spanish born.

Regular sessions of the Legislature are held annually from the second Monday in February to the middle of April, and special sessions at the call of the Governor. Laws and resolutions are passed in the name of the Legislature of Puerto Rico, with the usual provision for approval or disapproval by the Governor, who has veto power. The Governor's veto power is subject to a legislative reenactment over his veto by a two-thirds vote of both houses.

Here enters one Puerto Rican provision unfamiliar to the legislatures of the various States. If the Governor's veto is overruled by the two-thirds vote of both houses, he may then, if he still disapproves, transmit the enactment to the President of the United States. If the President approves the measure he signs it and it becomes a law. If the President disapproves, he returns it to the Governor, and the measure dies with that veto, there being no further provision permitting enactment. In theory, some insular critics argue for the abandonment of this final veto power as a limitation of island self-government, but in practise and in its application it is all but inconsequential.

Puerto Rico is no exception to the inflexible circumstance that in the application of written law, human instrumentalities establish details and procedure, aiming to make the written word workable. In practise, throughout the years of insular self-government under the American regime, most of the appointed Governors from the continental North and the heads of their executive departments, have been able to work in reasonable understanding and fellowship, to the common content of themselves and the people of the island. In doing this they have not been unmindful of political strategy to overcome some of the practical perplexities with the least difficulty.

The Acting Governor, temporarily empowered with all the duties and responsibilities of the Governor during the absence of the latter, has been a valuable functionary more than once, particularly when, as in many instances, he has been a native-born Puerto Rican. If a legislative enactment has been fought through to passage against the wish of some strong fighting minority, destined to keep on fighting, and blaming the official powers for what they dislike, the Governor may suddenly discover reason for a hasty trip to Washington on official business, leaving the executive consideration of the Act to the Puerto Rican Acting Governor upon whom the responsibility then devolves.

The signature of the latter becomes approval by a fellow-countryman of the island—an internal issue—instead of an act of oppression by an unwelcome Governor from the North! Contrawise, if some measure of island popularity seems to require veto without blame to the alien Governor, he may leave the island for a week of important conferences elsewhere and the Acting Governor may decree the veto as his own, and take the blame for it most helpfully! In other words, the cooperative administration of the Insular Government, with its dilution of Federal authority, works well in an island where racial impulsiveness and racial sensitiveness require consideration at all times.

It would be wasteful of space, and of doubtful interest, even to summarize the procedure which is established by the Organic Act as to the legislative routine, the course of bills for raising revenues, the restriction of extra compensations, the balancing of budgets, the matter of official bribery or corruption, and all such fundamentals. It is fair to say, however, that such provisions from beginning to end are those familiar in every State Legislature and in the Congress of the United States. In effect, the Act and its amendments establish the legislative powers and duties with the same measure of freedom and self-government for the island under the American flag as that to which Americans have been so long accustomed. Also it establishes universal suffrage, male and female, for all citizens above the age of twenty-one years, and provides that no property qualification shall ever be imposed upon or required of any voter.

Manhood suffrage was established with the passage of the Organic Act, but the ballot was not extended to women until many years later, becoming first operative at the general election of 1932. At the same time, a provision for a literacy test of all voters became effective.

Provision is made for the election of a Resident Commissioner to the United States, to dwell in Washington and represent the interests of Puerto Rico in contact with all departments of the Federal Government. This Commissioner, who must read and write the English language, receives the same salary as that of members of the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, with the same allowances for stationery, clerk-hire, mileage, and the franking privilege, a similar office in the House building, and the privileges of the floor of both houses, without the right to vote.

The Judicial Department of Puerto Rico, as established under the Organic Act, has no surprises in it, following the familiar forms we know throughout States and Territories. The Federal court is established as "the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico," with jurisdiction of all cases cognizable in the District courts of the United States, and proceeding in the same manner, with a District judge appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate.

In reading the Act, one recurrently comes upon provisions such as this—"for the naturalization of aliens, residence in Puerto Rico shall be counted in the same manner as residence elsewhere in the United States." Such constant usage as that phrase "elsewhere in the United States" is the automatic confirmation of the complete merging of relationship and citizenship which the Puerto Ricans possess. All pleading and proceedings in the Federal court are conducted in the English language. Appeals from this Federal District Court run to the first circuit of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Boston, with the right of appeal to and review by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico is the highest insular court. It possesses general appellate jurisdiction and from it appeals run also to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. A chief justice and four associate justices are appointed for life by the President. Appeals come to them from the insular District courts. These latter have original jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and appellate jurisdiction from the municipal courts and justices of the peace.

An index of the departments, divisions, and bureaus of Federal and insular authority in Puerto Rico would be a virtual repetition of the instrumentalities of government almost as broad as those of any American State. Every governmental activity applicable to the island has been established by enactment, executive or legislative, to an astonishing degree of completeness. Nothing seems to have been missed, and the answer is, of course, that the functions of government are just as essential to provide in a small-scale jurisdiction as in one of continental dimensions. Perhaps within the intricacies of insular government there is a percentage of wastage, duplication or inefficiency. Even so, such a discovery is not unknown to us in States and Territories farther north. Equally it is true that the lawfully established processes of government and the privileges of the people of Puerto Rico parallel almost precisely those of the most favored States of the continental United States.

Of course, the American regime found a complete body of civil and criminal law inherited from the Spanish code. This was slow to revise, but in the course of the years many reforms have been made and modifications which give it a nearer approach to the forms and practises known to the courts of the United States. The greatest single step in that direction was the early enactment of trial by jury, a system unknown to Puerto Ricans while Spanish authority continued.

Puerto Ricans have always inclined to the profession of law as a natural step from cultural education. The result is that there are a large number of attorneys-at-law in the island, including a considerable number from the United States, who find practise in the insular and Federal courts and likewise in the representing of clients with business affairs insular as well as continental.

While Puerto Ricans have been living under the formulated provisions of the Organic Act, the political pendulum has swung back and forth with more or less uniformity for a generation. Beyond doubt the Jones Act was regarded throughout the island as a long step forward from the provisions of its predecessor, the Foraker Act, and the still earlier period of military governors.

Political parties have praised or criticized the present regime according to their varying convictions and sentiments. It has never been difficult for a spirited leader to gain a hearing and create a following by emphasis upon some fancied limitation, or by demanding a revision of the relationship between the Federal and the insular governments. Puerto Ricans have proved the applicability of the aphorism that patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel, just as truly as have other people elsewhere, and the extravagance of misjudgment and attack in many an utterance is bewildering to the American who hears it for the first time in the island. Nevertheless, Americans, just as truly as Puerto Ricans, face the obligation to sift and winnow the truth as they find it, whether it be in the form of government, the present welfare of the island, or the outlook far ahead.

Chapter VI

UNCLE SAM MOVES INTO THE PALACE

IF Puerto Rican school-children in some distant future should be expected to learn the list of their past governors from the date of the American occupation, they will regard them as hardly more significant than the list of nineteenth-century dates and presidents now printed in their text-books. And yet despite the inconsequential ones and worse, and the political motives which actuated too many of the appointments, it is reassuring to take one's picture of them all from their own written records. It is heartening to find that they came successively with high resolution to render distinguished service and leave the island the better for their appointment.

Certainly no one can doubt the actuating motives of the successive military governors. In so far as they underwent difficulties and encountered obstacles as well as disheartening criticism, the fault must have been inherent in the situation. Puerto Rico had undergone centuries of Spanish military government, protesting more or less vaguely until a diluted autonomy was granted them. Interrupted immediately by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, it is not surprising that the restless Puerto Ricans, under the authority of new military governors whose language and manner of thought were unfamiliar to them, should become harassing rather than cooperative while problems strange to all were confronting them.

Brigadier-General Davis, the last of those three, was hardly more than in command when the disastrous San Ciriaco hurricane of August 8, 1899, spread devastation, loss of life and property, and general distress in the island. If that visitation had descended upon the island exactly one year earlier—hostile armies face to face on a long battlefront, Spaniards falling back to prepared entrenchments and Americans forcing their way forward through mountain terrain, strange and difficult—the tragedy would have been theatrical. Nature would have wrought defeat on both by a stroke from the very skies. As it was, the forces of the new military government became a relief agency by the distribution of something like thirty-two million pounds of rations during the next ten months. There was a remission of taxes because of losses caused by the hurricane, and also a suspension of the law providing for the foreclosure of mortgages.

Despite the fact that all of these things were based upon charitable motives, the policies became controversial. There were those who saw deception and exaggeration in the pleas of destitution. When to stop relief work after a general disaster is bound to be an issue, whether in Puerto Rico or elsewhere. It was just in time to confront those inherited problems that the new regime of civil government succeeded to the authority.

Certainly the first civil governor, Charles H. Allen of Massachusetts, appointed by President McKinley, seemed a fitting selection, praiseworthy on the part of the President and promising in his own career. Governor Allen was an Amherst College man with graduate and honorary degrees. He had been a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and of the Massachusetts Senate, and a member of the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses. He had business experience as a director in financial institutions and manufacturing corporations, was a trustee of Amherst College, and had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy for two years prior to his Puerto Rican appointment.

May 1, 1900, was an eventful day in Puerto Rico, with every formal military and civic participation. There was a military parade, including infantry and artillery, companies of sailors and marines, and a company of the insular police. Some three hundred officials of the military government, the foreign consuls, the judiciary, distinguished citizens, the clergy, army and navy, and representatives of the press assembled on a temporary platform in front of the executive mansion—La Fortaleza.

In his speech introducing the new governor, General Davis spoke with earnest satisfaction of the cooperation he had enjoyed as military governor, and how eagerly islanders and army alike had longed for military authority to end and civil authority to begin. It was a generous avowal of the American attitude that military authority shall always be subject to civil authority. Judge José Severo Quiñones, Chief Justice of the Insular Supreme Court, who administered the oath of office, testified to the benevolence and wisdom of the Davis administration, and spoke with high praise of the ruling spirit of the regime that was ending. The spoken words of that day gave every assurance that the outlook was auspicious.

Governor Allen was a realist as well as an idealist. In closing his first annual report to the President of the United States a year later, he foresaw an ultimate literacy, prosperity, and happiness for the island, but he did not delude himself by prophesying miracles of haste. He proved his perceptions at the end of his report by saying, "In a climate where the temperature ranges between seventy and eighty-five degrees, day and night, week in and week out, where little clothing is required, and shelter means protection from the tropical sun rather than climatic changes; where a man can lie in a hammock, pick a banana with one hand and dig a sweet potato with one foot, the incentive to idleness is easy to yield to and brings its inevitable consequences."

The recorded history of the years since then, as related by the succession of governors in their annual reports, is what might have been expected: inaugurations with an exchange of amenities and high hopes; harsh criticism by press and public opinion beginning a little later, with varied motives, constructive or destructive, ascribed to the restless critics; and with alternate encouragement and discouragement as governor succeeded governor.

Statistical comparisons through the years show the inordinate increase of population, a lowered death rate resulting from the improvement of sanitation and an increasing attention to all health problems. Also they show a steady reduction of illiteracy in response to the large expenditures and vigorous measures to extend the public school system. Highway construction, increased areas devoted to agriculture, and the growth of import and export commerce may be taken for granted as one observes the successive appendices. But it is the salient points of political events, of content or restlessness, of fellowship and understanding between what had been alien civilizations, that have the greater consequence.

The first Puerto Rican election, on that same November day in 1900 when President McKinley was reelected to office, was a historic event. The Executive Council had to plan for this event from the very beginning, the districting, registration and election, and the counting of ballots. Party names meant little—Federals, Republicans, and Independents—but the two Federal appointees of the Executive Council promptly resigned when the Council plan which they disapproved was adopted by vote of nine to two. That was the old Spanish custom—the entire minority resigned when outvoted.

The campaign was an exciting one. By mid-September riots were occurring, including one with an exchange of shots in a San Juan street. Rumors had it that there were to be more serious disorders and general fraud and trouble on election day. Everywhere it was urged that United States soldiers should be stationed in the various polling-places throughout the island. The administration, however, believed that if the first election, with its object lesson in civil government under a republic, could be held even at the cost of a few broken heads, it would be purchased cheaply enough if it could be conducted without soldiers at the polls.

Nevertheless, ample provision was made for emergencies. The insular police were so posted that if a riot should break out, order could be restored. No disorder whatever occurred at any place on the island, nor any gross frauds such as had been freely predicted by each party for the others. It was regarded as a genuine success in the experiment looking toward a gradual increase of self-government.

A contemporaneous account of the first Legislative Assembly following this election has pictorial as well as historical interest. The writer says: "The two chambers of the Legislative Assembly having duly organized on the third of December, 1900, formally notified the Governor of such action on the next day. On that day both branches of the Assembly met in joint session at the theater in the Plaza de Colon, that being the only building in the capital city large enough to accommodate the crowds of people endeavoring to attend the opening session of the legislature. The Executive Council, headed by Mr. Secretary Hunt, its president, and the House of Delegates, led by Mr. Speaker Rossy, marched in procession, from their respective halls through the principal streets to the theater. This auditorium is the largest hall in the city and capable of holding about 2,000 people. It was beautifully decorated with American flags, palms, and a great variety of potted plants. These gave it a holiday aspect, and, with the tasteful costumes of the ladies present, formed a most attractive picture, and one not easily forgotten by any spectator.

"Upon one side of the stage were seated the members of the Executive Council, and upon the other, facing them, were arranged the members of the House of Delegates. At a large table in the center and facing the audience assembled in the body of the house, were seated the president of the Executive Council, Judge Hunt, and the speaker of the House of Delegates, Mr. Rossy. The parquet of the theater was floored over, bringing it to a level with the stage, and was filled to overflowing with a deeply interested and very orderly throng of spectators. The boxes on the first floor of the hall and on the tier above were reserved for officers of the Army and Navy, the Supreme Court, and various other public functionaries, and were brilliant with the full-dress uniforms of the officers and the bright and beautiful apparel of the ladies. Officers of the British warship *Psyche* were in attendance in full uniform as interested spectators of this unusual scene. The upper gallery was packed with a quiet crowd of native islanders. No audience in any country, no matter where it may have been found, could have been more respectful in demeanor or conducted itself with better order and decorum.

"As soon as the Legislative Assembly in joint session was seated, the Governor was notified and made his appearance, accompanied by several officers, both civil and military. He was met at the entrance by a joint committee of the Legislative Assembly and escorted through the broad central aisle to the seat reserved for him upon the stage between the two presiding officers. In the meantime the large audience, which filled the building to its utmost capacity, had been entertained by the inspiring strains of Amercian and Porto Rican music from the band of the U.S.S. *Mayflower* and the local band of San Juan.

"The proceedings consisted principally of the address of the Governor to the Legislative Assembly, which supplied the usual place of an opening message. This being the first discourse of the kind ever delivered in Porto Rico, was listened to with great interest by the very large and intelligent audience. It was read by the Governor in English, and topic by topic was translated into Spanish by a competent interpreter, so as to be understood by all. Every recommendation made in the message was received with approbation and applause. This address, opening the Legislative Assembly, being regarded by the people as an indication of the purposes of the American Administration with respect to the island, was received throughout its extent with great cordiality and many expressions of entire satisfaction. A congratulatory dispatch was sent to the President of the United States. At the close of the proceedings the Legislative Assembly took an adjournment, and the members were subsequently entertained by the Governor at the Executive Mansion.

"At their ensuing sessions the two houses at once proceeded to consider the various recommendations which had been made to them by the chief magistrate, and to offer bills concerning the same. When it is considered that there was not a single member of the House of Delegates who had heretofore had any experience whatsoever in American forms of parliamentary procedure, the work of that body is entitled to very great credit."

While it is true that from the first a discontented element in the island continued in harshness of judgment and embittered criticism of the civil government, as it had been of the military government, this was regarded as a political attitude rather than a personal one. Generally speaking, it was an era of good feeling engendered by the manifest liberality of the American scheme of government, and the quick attention turned toward matters of health, industry and the schools.

Almost every school on the island had its American flag. One hundred and eighty flags were presented by a New York post of the Grand Army of the Republic. These floated over the new schools opened in October, 1900. Patriotic songs were almost the first English language lessons in the schools. School officials and school-teachers—Puerto Ricans—led in the fostering of this spirit. In many schools the children sang "Borinquen," the island song proscribed in former days and now all the more precious to the people.

Such circumstances appealed to the sentiment of the Puerto Rican leaders as enforced authority could never have done. The president of a city school-board said, "I am glad to hear our children sing the joyous strains of 'America' and the sad, plaintive strains of 'Borinquen.' Let us hope that from the mingling of these melodies will grow a new sentiment from which will spring a patriotic citizenship, loyal to the flag of red, white and blue, and which will soon form a people with their own star in the azure field of the grandest flag that ever caught the breezes of our lovely island." Surely no Fourth of July orator in the Mississippi Valley could have spoken more emotionally.

At another great meeting a leading teacher, with much fervor, declared to a storm of applause, "I am glad to-night that I can speak to you from a platform draped in the glorious Stars and Stripes. We love that flag—the flag that our grandfathers hid in their garrets and secretly venerated but which now, thank God, floats over all the schools of our beloved island home."

Trial by jury, after the manner of long habit in Anglo-Saxon countries, was established by the island legislature in the first year of civil government, but so unaccustomed to liberties in such a form were those who had lived only under the Spanish code that still one more year elapsed before the first such trial was chosen by any culprit. Offenders knew about what to expect from a bench of three judges, but they were reluctant to take chances with a jury of their peers.

At the time of the transfer of sovereignty there was not one public school building owned by the Crown or the insular school system. Every schoolhouse, few as they were, was a rented structure. The building of schoolhouses became the most tangible guaranty of the good-will of the United States Government. One Puerto Rican citizen remarked, "During the administration of the Spanish Government we saw nothing but money going out of this country to Spain. Now we see public money being put into the buildings for the use of our children."

It is interesting to note that for several years at this period students were sent to the United States to study at the expense of the Puerto Rican Government, with an annual allowance for expenses to maintain them at industrial and manual training schools, and in preparation for college and professional schools. Forty-five students, boys and girls, with an allowance of from two hundred to four hundred dollars annually, received this privilege. More than a third of these were students at Tuskegee, Alabama, the great school for Negroes founded by Booker T. Washington, preparing for careers as artisans. The mention of this school by name in educational reports—though not mentioning color or race—seems to be the only contemporaneous official reference to color-lines in Puerto Rican life as it then was.

In the fourth year of civil government the effects of the hurricane disaster five years earlier were still factors in all the island problems, economic and political, but Governor Hunt's report to the President was able to declare that everything was moving toward "a most satisfactory measure of success. No fear need be had that the Puerto Ricans are discontented with the institutions of popular government," he continued. "Some will complain of whatsoever administration happens to be in authority; others will be restless because they believe themselves entitled to full American citizenship immediately, while many will advocate a territorial form of government, hoping for a larger patronage and control; but none of them would listen to any suggestion of change in the form of government which would abrogate the present laws, or do away with the freedom and rights which are now enjoyed. They want more, not less, self-government with American citizenship."

The same governor took note of the attitude of the subjects of Spain still living in the island, some 5,000 or 6,000 of them. "It is probably true," he says, "that Spaniards own the greater part of the taxable property of the island; hence they constitute a powerful and influential portion of the community. In a financial way the Spaniard has done well since the change of sovereignty. Sugar-planters, especially, are making handsome profits by reason of free trade with our country, and those merchants who have been sufficiently far-sighted to establish credits with American houses have made money. The Government has constantly exerted itself to afford every legitimate protection to the property and persons of Spaniards, for we feared lest as a consequence of the change of national authority they might be subjected to unjust discriminations on the part of local Puerto Rican officials. But notwithstanding these things, the Spaniards as a rule are out of sympathy with the innovations of American laws, customs, and progress, and I believe it will be years before they will accommodate themselves to the occurring changes.

"The Spaniard being very proud, it may be natural for him to feel bitterly toward the United States and its policies in Puerto Rico. It is hard for him to see the Puerto Ricans, for whom he never had real respect, filling positions of honor and trust which none but Spaniards formerly held; it wounds his pride to see Americans in control in a land which his nation lost in war, and where his ancestors held military sway for nearly four hundred years; it is trying to him to realize that he is legally a foreigner and as such should refrain from actual participation in political affairs; it surprises him to find the doctrine of the political equality of men actually applied, instead of the former autocratic system where favoritism in his behalf permeated the public service; and it is, of course, painful to him to feel the passing of his prestige and influence while the power of the islanders steadily increases.

"Spaniards, too, being the owners of influential newspapers, the people daily read expressions of dissatisfaction and attempts at ridicule of the policies of the United States in all insular and South American matters. It may be accepted that in time this attitude will be changed, but the present Puerto Rico suffers the disadvantage of absenteeism with landlords who wilfully impede the success of the Government which protects their property."

While the Governor was recognizing the Spanish element in Puerto Rico as a factor of the whole problem, he was equally frank in discussing the political parties and the political manipulations of the party organizations. Two parties of major strength had theretofore existed, the Republican party and the Federal party. The former, with its substantial majority, had control of the Legislature, while the latter was in substantial minority and was in a process of reorganization.

The Republican party probably chose its name in the very first days of the American regime, rather to affiliate itself in fellowship with the then dominant political party in the United States than because of any identity of problems or principles. Speaking broadly, this island Republican party leaned more definitely in the direction of loyal, enthusiastic American attitudes, while the Federal party, although divided into minorities of its own, inclined rather toward impatience for immediate citizenship, statehood, autonomy, or freedom under American protection, analogous to the form of independence achieved by Cuba. The tendency of legislators was to regard everything from a party standpoint, with party leadership and control introduced even in matters quite unpartisan, and properly reckoned only as legislation for the general welfare.

The Governor closes his political analysis with a paragraph which might have been written yesterday when he says, "To the one who studies how best to solve a problem like that undertaken in Puerto Rico, there will ever be present the knowledge that we have there a million people densely populating the little island of about 3,600 miles in area, where for nearly four centuries the laws, customs, manners, language, and thought were radically different from those known to American civilization. In order to make the laws and language of the mainland and the island uniform, which in due course of time will be necessary, every effort must be made not only to teach new doctrines and ideas but at the same time to destroy the prejudices, ignorance, and the false teachings of the past.

In this way permanent not transient success will be had, and the ends achieved will redound to the glory of our country and humanity at large."

That was thirty-three years ago, and there are three-quarters of a million more people in Puerto Rico than there were when he gave utterance. History is as simple as that!

The Insular Government soon came to realize that no adequate provision existed for housing the Legislature. The Palace, as the personal and official residence of the captains-general had been casually called for centuries, was more than adequate for the American governors, with the added authority which history, tradition, and habit had established there in the thought of the people of the island. The executive departments and the courts could be housed, however inconveniently, in the public buildings which the Spaniards had erected and used for their various requirements of government. But legislatures were new instrumentalities in Puerto Rico. There was manifest need for a capitol building of dignity and distinction to house the halls of legislation at least, and to symbolize itself as truly a new possession of the island people, an architectural evidence of the degree of self-government which they were gradually achieving.

For a considerable time there was recurrent discussion of location, size, space and cost, the appointment of commissioners to hold competitions for architectural design, the award of choice, and the sharp divergence of debate as to art and timeliness. However, the broad intention to fulfil the requirement was never relinquished. Bids for the construction of the new capitol building were called for by advertisement as far back as March, 1909, upon the plans of the accepted design by a New York architect. Unfortunately, the lowest bid submitted exceeded the stipulated cost of the building by about $40,000, which included no furnishings or decorations. As this would make the total far exceed the appropriation, no action was taken.

By this time, two new political alignments and new party names were developing, though with no more necessary identity of parties and names with those in the continental United States than heretofore. The November election in 1908 had resulted in a sweeping victory for the Unionist party, with a total vote of 101,033. The Republican party was second with a vote of 54,962, and the name of Santiago Iglesias appears for the first time in public affairs with a vote of 1,327 as a candidate of the *Federación Libre* (a new Socialist-Labor party) for resident Commissioner at Washington. It is interesting to realize that the young Spanish labor leader of that day nearly thirty years ago is now the Puerto Rican Commissioner in Washington, after a complete victory in the elections of 1936, following his years of island leadership of the Socialist party and its victory as part of the Coalition.

That Unionist victory of 1908 brought its troubles to the island, political troubles which seemed ominous. All seven of the legislative districts of the island were carried by the Unionist party, and for the second time the House of Delegates was composed entirely of Unionists. The net result of the next Legislative Assembly was what we have later learned to call a "sit-down strike." No legislative measures were passed during the sessions, not even the appropriation bills for carrying on government.

In touch with all circumstances as he was from beginning to end, the Governor was still helpless to overcome the peculiarly difficult and unwarranted position which was assumed. A commission of the Legislature to ask Washington for new Puerto Rican legislation was created by the House of Delegates, and the Governor and members of the Executive Council likewise sent a commission to present the situation to President Taft. The financial deadlock was finally overcome by the application of provisions already existing in prior Congressional legislation, which validated the appropriations of one year to be duplicated for the next year in the event of failure to pass new appropriations. Ultimately more intelligent methods of enlarging island liberties were discovered by party leaders in positions of authority.

It fell to Governor Arthur Yager to hold office for eight years from 1913 to 1921, the longest service of any governor in the entire period since the American regime began. His administration saw the granting of an enlarged measure of self-government under the provisions of the Jones Act—the new Organic Act under which the island was to live—and it saw the World War with all the attendant circumstances, political, industrial, and personal, which developed from that event.

In the field of political activity, the first election under the new Organic Act took place July 16, 1917, and passed off in an orderly manner after a spirited campaign. At this election not only was a new Legislature chosen, but also a Prohibition Amendment was submitted to the vote of the people, and was ratified by a large majority, some 38,000 majority in a total vote of about 160,000.

With the entry of the United States into the World War, the people were prompt in their contribution of man-power, financial resources, and cooperation. Volunteers came forward to complete the Puerto Rican regiment and raise it to war strength. Three successive training-camps for officers were formed in the island, with a total of more than 1,250 student officers in attendance, some two-thirds of whom received commissions as officers. The total number of those who registered for service was in excess of 120,000. A substantial number of the registrants were called into service as the successive orders for mobilization required. With such a large percentage of Puerto Ricans registered as illiterates at that time, the drain of the selected young manhood of the country into military service was keenly felt. The successive Liberty Loan campaigns and the various forms of war work were carried through with a vigor and a percentage of success comparable with the same details in the continental United States, much to the pride of the island. Nevertheless, the upsetting of international trade, some bad years in the sugar industry, and the concentration of affairs into war work channels made conditions difficult at times.

Governor Yager characterized the fiscal year 1918-19 as the most exciting and eventful year in all the history of Puerto Rico. The greatest, most alarming, and most destructive earthquake that had ever visited the island was followed by a widespread epidemic of influenza, tragic in its dimensions and its fatalities. This followed the sudden transition from a state of world-wide war to the blessings and problems of peace. The return to Puerto Rico of large bodies of laborers who had been taken to the continent by the War Department for urgent war work just before the armistice, and the rapid demobilization of the large body of soldiers forming the Puerto Rico contingent of the National Army, brought many difficult problems of unemployment and reemployment of discharged soldiers.

The first great shock of earthquake occurred at 10:15 A.M. on October 11, 1918, followed by a tidal wave of considerable height which struck the western coast of the island and added greatly to the destruction and loss of life. There were many after-shocks for a period of more than a month, two of them, those of October 24 and November 12, being almost as severe as the first. There was an immediate loss of life in the earthquake of 116, and 241 others were injured. Property losses were estimated at $3,472,159.

The disaster by epidemic and influenza reached ghastlier proportions, with 10,888 deaths, and additional cases numbering scores of thousands. Despite these impairments of island resources which were called on to relieve the suffering and losses, the Liberty Loans and Victory Loans reached a grand total in Puerto Rico of $12,383,150, substantially in excess of the quota which had been established. Import and export trade reached its peak in spite of declines in some of the fruit crops. Island prosperity was so gratifying that it enabled the tragedies to be alleviated out of island resources to a degree which could never before have been expected.

The island took cognizance of the fact that twenty years had elapsed since the passing of the Spanish and the establishing of the American regime. Comparisons that spoke eloquently could be made, advances recognizable alike by Puerto Ricans and Americans. The optimistic prophecies of 1898 had not all come true, but benefits beyond valuing had been established. The island had traveled far in the direction of true liberty and self-government, the administration of law and justice, and the extension of education. However short of sufficiency in resources and numbers, there had been created a modern democratic school system, offering free education to the children of the island, and providing at public expense teachers, buildings, equipment and books—a circumstance to which the Spanish regime apparently never even aspired.

It is fair to note the affirmative figures without ignoring the negative ones. In the twenty years population had increased from 953,243 to 1,263,474. Children of school age had increased from 322,393 to 434,381. Those in attendance at school in the same twenty years had increased from 21,873 to 160,794. This was a noble achievement, but as an evidence of incompletion the school authorities had to lament that there were still 273,587 children of school age not in school. This contrasted with the figures of 300,520 of twenty years earlier. The school headway had hardly more than kept up with the population increase.

The Department of Health had cut the death rate, a systematic attack had been made on the several diseases which were the curse of the island, sanitation was becoming a practise where it had hardly been a word in the days of Spain, taxation had been systematized and economized, agriculture improved, the courts reorganized for swifter justice, and an island people unpractised in the art of self-government had made political progress more rapidly than any reasonable expectation could have predicted.

Says Governor Yager, "In short and in fine, these two decades of progress made by Porto Rico under the American flag taken all together constitute a record which I believe cannot be equaled by any people anywhere in the world in the same length of time. It is a record creditable alike to the Porto Ricans themselves and to the great free republic to which they owe allegiance.

"The people have eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity offered them for improvement. With patriotic devotion to their island, and with a real aspiration for progress, they have made a quick response to all the changes that were necessary for development. In politics and government, in education, in commerce and industry, in social and moral improvement, they have offered their cooperation and aid to the forces that have made for betterment. This is the simple truth as to the past, and this is the best augury for the future. It seems easy to predict that, barring untoward and unexpected events, the next two decades will see even more wonderful progress and development."

Chapter VII

GOVERNORS YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY

NOTHING could testify more eloquently to the difference between the Spanish regime and the American than the expanding activities of labor organizations. However well or ill-actuated, the restlessness of low-paid labor became a sign of awakening. Under the vanished regime, quick and vigorous suppression by the Civil Guard or by military force, both under the direct authority of the Governor-General, had been the simple solution, with stern penalties visited upon the hapless leaders of the infrequent sporadic outbreaks. Labor problems after 1898, however, actually multiplied with the passing of the years, as labor became more self-conscious and more articulate.

Under counsel and leadership largely provided from the continental United States by the American Federation of Labor, organizations were gradually formed, and the organized strike as a coercive process to obtain better working conditions and better wages began to operate against employers who had never been so confronted before. The liberties had been established, and the responsibilities that accompany liberty. It is not strange that they were sometimes misused. Cigar makers and cane workers were among the laborers who experimented with the strike as an industrial weapon. In one instance loss of life and destruction of property reached serious proportions, requiring the use of the insular police—but not an alien military force—to restore order.

The capitol building was begun at last in 1922. The foundations were built and the work was then stopped after successive redesignings. Under the final plans the capitol made provision for the Legislature and the Supreme Court, with rooms for libraries, a historical and memorial museum, offices and halls for conferences, committee-rooms, and a large central hall and rotunda under the dome. Selected marble was to be used as a veneer to cover the reenforced concrete walls both in the interior and exterior. The Roman classic style was irrevocably fixed for the structure.

Road building continued, the school system developed, harbor improvements were under way, courts of justice and various charities became constantly more effective, and, in general, the functions of government took on familiar forms and registered the improvement that should be expected. The forms of law, public service, and government were gradually approaching an identity in Puerto Rico with the customary procedure in the continental United States.

Annual reports became more statistical and less political, except as unusual events forced attention. Even a governor's report becomes dramatic in reciting the details of the San Felipe hurricane of September 13, 1928, the most destructive on record in the West Indies. "In all respects the history and record of the island have been seriously modified and changed by that occurrence," says Governor Towner. "Socially, economically, politically, educationally, in their health and by its psychological influences, its people have been greatly affected by that event."

Such an event should have ample attention here as a depiction of what can happen with no human power to avert. The first report of signs of an approaching storm at St. Lucia and Barbados reached the San Juan weather bureau at 3:00 P.M. on Tuesday, September 11, 1928. This was a radio report that a storm of considerable intensity was raging over the Atlantic about three hundred miles east of the Leeward Islands. Early the next morning a well-formed cyclonic disturbance was located east of Dominica.

A radio broadcast from San Juan that evening announced to the island that the storm would probably pass south of Puerto Rico Wednesday night or Thursday morning. Later, however, revised information placed the storm-center as moving farther northward on a course directly over Puerto Rico. This information was promptly distributed throughout the island. The storm broke over the southeastern portion of Puerto Rico early Thursday morning and passed diagonally across, leaving the island at the northwest corner. Its center moved across the island in about eight hours.

"The rainfall of the thirteenth and fourteenth was the heaviest ever recorded in Puerto Rico. In the central mountain region it was 29.60 inches. The storm broke with great force at San Juan about two o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, and continued with varying intensity for about twelve hours. The unprecedented rain preceded and followed the hurricane. San Juan was about thirty miles north of the main course of the storm, but was severely damaged by it. There was no loss of life at the capital although many were injured.

"The details of effort to anticipate the threat and save the people were dramatic. When it became certain that a hurricane of great and dangerous character would strike Puerto Rico in its course, information and warnings were sent by telegraph and telephone on the evening of the twelfth to all the seventy-seven municipalities of the island, to the insular police at every town, to the National Guard wherever a company was located, to the insular and municipal authorities, and through them to the road-menders on every highway to spread the news of the coming of the storm, to warn the people to find places of shelter, and to assist the old, the sick, and the helpless to find places of refuge if possible. The people were warned not to stay in their wooden houses or barns or to seek shelter in frail buildings of any kind.

"To the sending of this information and those warnings may be attributed the small loss of life, which did not exceed three hundred, while the property loss was nearly or quite one hundred million dollars. People flocked to the safe places—to public buildings, churches and schools, to securely built houses, to cellars, to caves in the mountains, to rocky shelters—anywhere to be safe. Thousands that could not find safe shelter threw themselves prone upon the ground away from falling trees or buildings and there remained, drenched but safe, until the storm had passed.

"Before the storm Puerto Rico was well described as a luxuriant flowered paradise. After it the beautiful island was likened to the war-devastated areas of France and Belgium. The mountainsides which had been covered with burnished greens and decorated with the bright colors of tropical flowers were brown and seared as if a forest fire had passed. The lowlands were drenched and sodden from the floods of rain. Trees a hundred years old or more were felled, or, entirely leafless, were left broken and twisted. The coffee shade trees were almost all destroyed and the coffee bushes uprooted and torn. The ten-million-dollar coffee crop almost ready for the harvest was almost entirely destroyed.

"All parts of the island suffered. Hardly a building of any kind was uninjured. When the tempestual winds had subsided and the torrential rain had ceased, all frail structures, the homes of the dwellers on the mountainsides, were found destroyed. Of thousands of these homes of the people, not a vestige remained. In city and country alike the storm left its destructive mark. Sugar *centrals,* large manufactories costing millions of dollars, were left a shapeless mass of debris. Schoolhouses were destroyed or unroofed. As a result it is literally true that 500,000 people were left homeless, without food or clothing except what they had worn throughout the storm.

"The destruction of public works was large. Following the storm all roads were filled with broken trees and other debris and blocked by landslides and washouts. The approaches to many bridges were destroyed. Seven hundred and seventy schoolhouses were destroyed or materially damaged. The telegraph and telephone lines were completely destroyed. Water and sewer systems and irrigation works were greatly injured. Transportation was impossible for vehicles of any kind. For a time the only possible travel was on foot or on horseback, and progress under those circumstances was slow and difficult.

"Thanks to the centralized control of the insular police force, these trained and capable men placed in every city and town throughout the island had been notified, before the lines were destroyed, of the coming of the storm. They were engaged in relief work everywhere during and following the tragedy. Communication was hastily reestablished over the wires by temporary construction, and early on the morning of the fourteenth systematic measures of relief and repair were under way.

"It was instantly realized that the losses occasioned by the storm were beyond the resources of the island, even with the help of the Red Cross, and that an appeal would have to be made to the Congress of the United States. The Governor formed a responsible commission called the Central Survey Committee, to make prompt report covering the entire island, and for this survey the school-teachers were used, the schools themselves necessarily closed in any event. To secure proper supervision the island was divided into fifteen districts, each in charge of an army officer, questionnaires were formulated, and four thousand school-teachers began their work. The result of this survey was probably the most accurate appraisal ever made of losses following a great disaster.

"The cooperation of insular authorities and the government at Washington, the benevolent impulses of continental Americans and the citizens of the island, and the American Red Cross, worked wonders of relief, efficiency, charity and rehabilitation that will never be forgotten. Remembering the epidemics that followed the San Ciriaco storm of 1899, the Commissioner of Health took vigorous action to avert that sequel of disaster and in their entirety the two catastrophes make memorable comparison in the field of such events. Congress made generous appropriations and the year ended with amazing headway in the restoration of the island. Even so, it was destined to take years for healing the scarred avenues of royal palm and the wreck of the coffee plantations—the coffee bushes and the shade trees under which they grow, the profitable industry of the past which seemed to have been all but obliterated."

Governor Theodore Roosevelt was more frank than some of his predecessors in that he gave first attention in his first annual report to the things deplorable, rather than those in which to take pride. He found conditions bad, with three great problems under which the island was struggling—disease, poverty, and insufficient revenues. He faced the fact that the death rate from tuberculosis was higher than that of any other place in the Western Hemisphere, and four and one-half times the rate in the continental United States. He placed the appalling death rate from malaria, and the infestation of hookworm, squarely in front for observation.

"This condition is all the more deplorable," he said, "because the climate here is especially healthy. We have a moderate temperature varying very little during the year. We have an abundance of sunshine. The trade winds blow through most of the year. We should be nearly free from such plagues as tuberculosis. We should be considered as a health resort."

The fault was not that of the hard-working insular Department of Health, but the shortage of the tremendous sums necessary to pay for a complete campaign against disease. Many things had been done and much accomplished in this campaign, but the magnitude of the problem and the things undone still had to be confronted. The reduced death rate, the improvements in sanitation, water supply, and sewage disposal were justly matters of pride, but the undone remainder continued to sow the seeds of disease.

Governor Roosevelt was similarly frank in declaring that island economic conditions were equally bad. With the average yearly income of the working man or woman ranging between $150 and $200, with more than sixty percent of the people out of employment either all the year or a part of each year, with small farmers too few and great estates too many, the situation as to agriculture and industry required serious and constructive attention.

Thirty years had seen the density of population move steadily upward. Every governor in his turn had called attention to the island as one of the most densely populated countries in the world, with the successive figures mounting ladder-like with the years—307 per square mile, 330 per square mile, 370 per square mile, 410 per square mile, 440 per square mile, and so on—sittings for school-children still falling 300,000 short of the children of school age. Such were some of the fundamentals to which the new governor dramatically called attention. In thus marshaling the real troubles, and placing them before the people of the United States as well as the people of the island, there was a constructive service destined to help solve the island problems, desperate though they seemed to be.

Governor Roosevelt in his second report found much encouragement in the responsiveness with which constructive measures were adopted, and, in general, he sounded a note of optimism. He recognized, however, that time, patience, courage, and the expenditure of large resources in money and men would be required to establish Puerto Rico in its true position. In this same year President Hoover made a two-day visit to the island, landing at Ponce, driving to San Juan in the afternoon, and returning to Ponce the next day after delivering a public address from the steps of the capitol. The visit was of importance to the island by reason of his visualization of the problems and difficulties, and the satisfaction it gave to the people. Besides that, it focused the attention of the United States on Puerto Rico, a help to the island even though presidential pessimism over the conditions he found was evident.

Governor Blanton Winship, who took office at San Juan on February 5, 1934, under appointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the end of his first fiscal year found that although the financial condition of the insular government was beginning to show improvement over the previous year on account of reduced expenditures and additional revenues, the economic situation throughout the island was the most discouraging of recent years. The number of unemployed had steadily increased. Unemployed agricultural workers and seasonal workers were migrating to the large cities and towns.

In the larger cities slum settlements of unsanitary and unsightly character had multiplied. Thirty-five percent of the island's population was estimated as receiving either direct or indirect relief from the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration, and poverty and distress were in evidence in every city, town and village. It was a striking example of the depths to which a suffering community could sink in what this generation will always remember as The Depression.

Even so, there were things to felicitate. Nature had been kind and the island had been free from hurricanes, severe earthquakes, and other such calamities. The instrumentalities of relief were well organized and coordinated. Bank deposits were increasing, and even savings banks showed a similar record. Export and import commerce were both on the increase, with a visible balance of trade in favor of Puerto Rico for the year of more than $22,000,000. The insular Department of Labor, working with the Sugar Producers' Association and the Free Federation of Working-Men of Puerto Rico, had been instrumental in averting conflicts of importance in the sugar industry, and in settling strikes of longshoremen, needle workers, and tobacco machine workers.

Unhappily, the death rate was slightly increased. At the same time the birth rate showed a slight decrease, but all statistics in the matter of health were abnormal or exceptional, through the natural influence of the depression conditions. It was impossible to continue the full program of expansion in the public school system because of the lack of island funds. All of the activities of the Federal Government based on Congressional legislation and executive authority as granted by Congress were extended to Puerto Rico in so far as applicable to the island.

Not the least of the historic events as measured by island interest, was the visit of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who traveled extensively over the island and observed for herself the actual conditions existing among people of all classes. They found her personal contacts with the island people a genuine encouragement to all who were actively interested in the improvement of social and economic conditions. President Roosevelt was another visitor to the island, arriving at Mayagüez on July 6, 1934, and crossing by automobile to San Juan, where he completed his two-day visit.

Governor Winship brought to the island an executive courage and a degree of helpful frankness which were constructive rather than pessimistic. He kept more closely in touch with the national administration at Washington than had any of his predecessors, and the island people soon realized that he was currently resourceful and helpful in assuring Puerto Rican participation on a maximum scale in the allotments and instrumentalities under Federal authority. He was able to assure Puerto Ricans that in all plans of the national administration for the future the island would be accorded most sympathetic consideration.

He sought the development of plans under which "a new economic structure will be reared here on foundations so sound that the benefits from agriculture, trade and industry will be more widely diffused throughout the island, and our people will share a prosperity more real than ever in the past."

With a far objective in the upbuilding of tourist travel into Puerto Rico, every American governor has bespoken the attention of wandering Americans to the winter charms of the island.

Of them all, none has been more alive to the possibilities than has Governor Winship. A cosmopolitan himself, with long-time travel and residence in the line of duty in various parts of the world, retired from military service with the rank of major-general, and free to look upon the potentialities with an eye single to Puerto Rican welfare, he realized the large earning power latent in increased travel to the island.

The tourist business on a large scale means a substantial inflow of money liberally spent and destined to percolate everywhere. Resort regions as near to Puerto Rico as the Florida coast and as far away as California or the northern summer lands of Maine and Michigan afford convincing evidence. "Tourism" might logically become at least the second industry of the island, fabricated out of the sunshine, the soft airs, the blue seas, and the green mountains, the picturesque life, and the glamour of history and romance. It does not rob the soil of its fertility, or carry the hazards of erosion. By its very example, in the competition for tourist trade it would become a spur to establish more wholesome standards of sanitation, dietary and life. The rewards of such a successful movement could hardly be exaggerated, even though a visionary might become impatient over the delays and details.

So Governor Winship entered wholeheartedly into the encouragement of that movement from the moment of his arrival, and shared the detailed planning of a great seasonal *fiesta* for the beginning of the year 1937, the Ponce de Leon Carnival. From January 30 to February 14, 1937, this carnival, sponsored by the Government of Puerto Rico, reenacted the golden age of romance, adventure and conquest, when men fought for glory and sought for riches in the new and unknown world of the West Indies and the American continents. Puerto Rico, the only soil under the American flag upon which Christopher Columbus once landed, chose to celebrate in honor of Captain Don Juan Ponce de Leon, conqueror, colonizer, and first governor of the island. There where his remains rest, there where the family home still stands after four hundred years—this island capital of San Juan was the fitting place for carnival.

It was not the time to emphasize the hardships and the cruelties which too often marked the centuries, nor yet to thrust the slums of wretched poverty or the sporadic restlessness of petty politics, however tragic, upon the season of pre-Lenten gaiety. Instead, San Juan offered historic pageants "showing a gorgeous and picturesque array of artistic floats depicting periods, feats of arms, legends and fancies of the conqueror; mimic warfare graphically reproduced, the glorious epochs of other days for all to remember; dramatic tableaus picturing notable events, animating and colorful *verbenas*—the typical Spanish fair—where hilarity and merriment join hands with the abandon characteristic of the Hispanic race, all in an exotic environment of mixed languages and customs. Literary contests where the intellect expresses romantic powers to portray the charm and pulchritude of Puerto Rican womanhood; and flowers everywhere, flowers on parade, on floats which will seem like a garden, in an abundant variety of fragrance exquisite with a background of feminine loveliness."

Thus said the English version of the carnival announcement, not so highly restrained, itself, in advertising appeal, but yet far short of the Spanish version, still more florid as that language permits, and reciting, if translated, that on these last beauteous floats the enthralled spectators would with difficulty distinguish which were the flowers and which were the beautiful girls.

The *fiesta* was indeed a noteworthy success, and if it be followed up as an annual carnival it will justly factor in an effective way in the systematic expansion of the tourist movement. With the flow of this current toward the island, always it will bring an additional enrichment of ready money into Puerto Rico, and little outflow. The expenditure that decorates the city with flowers and brightens it with illumination, in a carnival spirit that scatters gaiety, is trifling in comparison with its earning potentialities.

It becomes easy to speak in hyperbole regarding facts and the outlook when tourist literature is in preparation. Looked at in sober perspective, one hesitates to accept the estimates and expectations of island enthusiasts. A correspondent writing real estate stuff under a San Juan date-line in a recent issue of a great New York newspaper says: "With Miami enjoying a cash income of $300,000,000 each winter season from its tourist crop, Governor Winship believes that Puerto Rico can get its share—possibly as high as $100,000,000 annually. . . . Sensing an opportunity for gilt-edge investments, private capital has flowed into building construction. Well over $200,000,000 has been invested to date this year."

Just what the corrected figures ought to be should not be determined by guessing. But there is something absurdly wrong in the calculation that as much as six times the entire amount of the huge relief appropriations for the rehabilitation of Puerto Rico should have been invested by private capitalists in less than one year—or that three times that amount may become the annual possibility in island income from the tourist trade at any date of calculation nearer than astronomical. As to this year's investment in real estate and building construction, a responsible island official estimates the correct figure as between $10,000,000 and $12,000,000.

With the noteworthy success of the *fiesta* behind him, Governor Winship's message of April 3, 1937, to the Puerto Rican legislature, showed his continuing earnestness on this subject with accustomed zeal and frankness in recognizing island lacks as well as island charms. He says: "I am convinced that in time the length of which will depend on us, the business to be developed by visitors to the island, or tourists, will be a great industry, productive of more profits than any other industry. I have endeavored to obtain from the Federal Government funds to invest in the preparation of the island for this purpose, but without success. It is estimated that the American tourists' travel bill for the year 1937 will probably reach three billion dollars. Why not reach out for our part of this enormous expenditure?

"We have nothing to attract tourists yet except our delightful climate with its perennial fresh breezes to temper the heat, the natural beauty of our scenery that many people have compared with both Switzerland without the snow and the Riviera, and our historic monuments. We need more than these. We have splendid roads and some very attractive bridle paths, but these should be supplemented with others to make all the island's beauties easily accessible.

"We especially need improved communications with the mainland, more and better hotel facilities, public golf courses and tennis courts, protected bathing-beaches, sail and motor boats, and more extensive fishing facilities. These things and many others will surely come but slowly through private enterprise. A stroke by the government is essential. Let us start a program including all these improvements that will cost several million dollars, to be expended in a series of years. An annual appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars will suffice for the present. I recommend that it be made."

With more than four centuries of history summarized, two alternative courses are open in the further sequence of subject matter in this depiction of Puerto Rico and its people. The path by way of politics, labor problems, economic, industrial and agricultural matters, education and language, disorder and development is a natural one. But so, too, is the road to understanding of the island and the people by closer and more personal contact. There is illumination in descriptive travel, scenes and life in city and country, health and climate, sport and the press, anecdote and episode more intimately revealing, traveler's tales of what the tourist sees and hears, from all of which may emerge the Puerto Rican character study. This course in observation of all things Puerto Rican as they are to-day should make the more serious and sober matters more clearly understood. The place to begin is with travel as it was and is, and with the tourist.

Chapter VIII

OLD ROUTES AND NEW—AND A BIT OF GEOGRAPHY

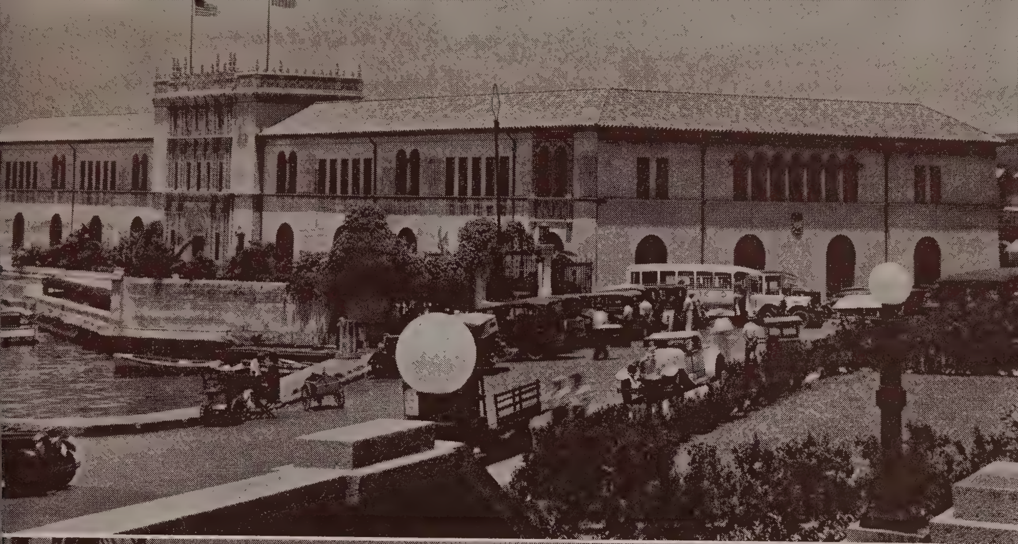
TRAVEL routes to and from Puerto Rico had to be substantially readjusted following the termination of the Spanish regime and the succession of the authority of the United States. Of course, Puerto Rico until 1898 was all Spanish, by origin and by administration. There was little reason to maintain regular communication except with Spain and the near-by Spanish neighbors of continental South America and the islands of the Caribbean. An English company constructed and operated a transatlantic cable with extensions throughout the West Indies and onward to the continental coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. Cargo carriers took care of trade requirements, primarily the sugar crop and the tobacco crop for export, and the merchandise needs of the island for import. Little passenger travel existed between Puerto Rico and the North American ports by any direct service.

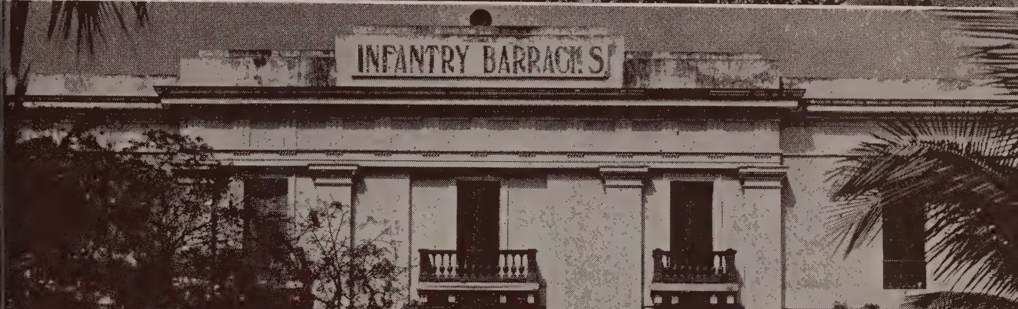
Travelers used the transatlantic lines that operated into the West Indies and beyond from Spanish peninsular ports. In their day these lines were chartered and subsidized by the Spanish Government as factors in the preservation of the colonial relationship. They served the requirements of official travel, civil and military, the Puerto Rican stream of tourist trade to and from the mother country for business and pleasure, the voyages of such youth as were to be educated in the Spanish universities, the annual visits of rich plantation owners seeking European holiday, the regularity of mail, and the fostering of import and export trade.

These steamship lines had an importance to colonial Spain greater than the Puerto Rican traffic, to which Puerto Ricans still like to point as a detail in the days of glory. Cuba, too, was then a Spanish colony, Cuba so varied and beautiful, so fertile agriculturally and so rich in other wealth, so large and so populous that Puerto Rico was actually but a way-station on the course to Havana. Also, these liners continued on from Havana to Vera Cruz as the terminus of the westward voyage. This route, therefore, from Barcelona via Gibraltar, San Juan and Havana to a Spanish-speaking nation such as Mexico, was an established enterprise.

With the ties of Mexico to Spain steadily diminishing, with Cuba an independent republic, with Havana almost in shouting distance of Key West, and Puerto Rico transferred to a new relationship, that trade route lost its importance and its volume of traffic. A Spanish transatlantic service still survives, with regular though somewhat infrequent sailings, but its ships no longer rival those of the lines that operate between Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, sailing day is still a day of glamour to those who cherish the old regime in memory. Many travelers still patronize that service. "Die hard" Spaniards still take their household treasures—husband and wife, children large and small, language and loyalty—back to Spain that way at long intervals.

In these Spanish households in Puerto Rico one finds other survivals of romantic older days, cherished by the generation which remembers the sentiment of the Spanish regime without too much thought of its crudities and its oppressions. They took it hard, as one may sympathetically understand, when recent civil war in Spain still further reduced steamship service, and practically destroyed the peninsular mother country as a destination for holiday travel. This last outbreak of Spanish turmoil, with the destruction which has accompanied it, has been a painful experience for Puerto Ricans to contemplate. They, too, have been of divided opinion in their outlook on the Spanish warfare, and whatever happens, the outcome will include a





- *Above:* United States Custom House, San Juan.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

- *Below:* The Infantry Barracks building dates far back into the Spanish regime, though somewhat modernized now. It still bears scars from the American bombardment of 1898.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

- *Left:* Cutting mahogany logs in Luquillo National Forest.
- *Right:* The water-gate, ancient entrance through the city wall from the harbor. It leads up to La Fortaleza and is still in use as a driveway from the waterside to the streets on the next higher level.

weakening of the ties between the ancient mother country and the ancient colony that was.

Passenger steamships under the British flag are maintained by trade and mail subsidies throughout the British islands of the West Indies, some from home ports in Great Britain to the islands and coasts of the Caribbean, and some from Canadian ports southward to South American ports, calling at the numerous islands en route. St. Thomas under the Danish flag encouraged that trade and became a busy port of call, convenient to Puerto Rico and less restricted. Barbados became the crossroads of the Caribbean, where transatlantic vessels from Southampton to British Honduras via Kingston, Jamaica, intersected north and south tributary lines distributing mail, passengers and trade to the least and greatest of the islands, Windward or Leeward.

The port of San Juan, with all its wonderful natural harbor, was backward in harbor facilities, long after many ports of the other islands had been modernized. Passengers for San Juan found service somewhat irregular and inconvenient, but Puerto Rico had its infrequent American travelers, and only the backwardness of Spanish authority delayed the wide recognition of island charms and possibilities. The American traveler on a random journey might find Puerto Rico in those days almost the only island he had missed, the omission due to the difficulties of access.

Even ten years before the Spanish-American War, one firm of shipbrokers in New York, Miller, Bull & Knowlton, operated the Taurus Line of steamers and sailing vessels between New York and Puerto Rico, and J. M. Ceballos & Company, commission merchants of New York, operated the New York and Porto Rico Line of steamers. Neither firm owned vessels, but they operated under charter from time to time such vessels as they had occasion to require.

It is interesting to observe that both of these early enterprises survive in names still familiar to all Puerto Ricans. The

New York and Porto Rico Line, successor to that one of fifty years ago through a sequence of reorganizations and modifications, is still the line which carries the mail and the bulk of the passengers back and forth between San Juan and New York. It still must spell its name "Porto," despite the fact that legislation has long since validated "Puerto" as the only correct form, because its incorporation and its traditions date back to the earlier day. The Bull Line preserves the name of its original founder, although the Latinization of the family name which christened its predecessor no longer appears. These are but two with a background dating before the Spanish-American War.

When that war reached the island, with the consequent interruption of normal traffic, the hazards of hostility and possible blockade and bombardment naturally halted all freight and passenger traffic with Puerto Rico. A few months later, some traffic was resumed under neutral flags. Additionally, some irregular service by military transports was made available to passengers also, and by random freighters seeking import and export business and operating under the temporary privileges granted by the authority of military governors.

Despite the fact that two new ships of size and speed have been added to the fleet of the New York and Porto Rico Company within the last few years, in part by resources furnished from the Federal Treasury in regular course of the encouragement of shipbuilding and operation for the carrying of the mails, and that the Bull-Insular Line, the Red D Line, the Lykes Line, the McCormick Line, and others of still less regularity and frequency of service, and most recently the Grace Line, can show a substantial total of passenger accommodations, the limitations of the service must be recognized.

There is an opinion in the island that the more knowing travelers who can conveniently sail from Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, Baltimore or Philadelphia on one of the less capacious vessels in which passenger traffic is of secondary importance, fare uncommonly well in their leisurely voyage. But it still remains true that most of the passenger traffic is carried on the ships of the New York and Porto Rico Line from New York. Three of these, which have been superseded by the newer, faster, and larger ones, charge second-cabin passenger rates only, and frankly cater almost entirely to the native Puerto Rican trade, which, in this instance, would inevitably mean a substantial percentage of race-mixture. The other two more pretentious ships of that line (but even so hardly comparable in size, speed, and luxury with vessels in the Bermuda service) carry first-class passengers as well as those in second-cabin and steerage, at a higher rate, high for the voyage and for the accommodations.

The administration of the line naturally endeavors to please its patrons who are booking passage by giving them accommodations that will be satisfactory. But it is only good fortune and good-will and deft handling of a delicate problem that create any practical assurance against involuntary racial mixture in the assignment of staterooms, seats at table, and the common use of all the ship's facilities, recreational and otherwise. On the passenger list and in the passenger accommodations there will be Puerto Rican ladies and gentlemen of Spanish blood and no other; North Americans of the same characteristics and circumstances; and swarthy neighbors, men and women of uncertain race, so far as the North American stranger can judge, Puerto Ricans rather than Negroes, and Negroes beyond doubt, all of identical status in the accommodations they have bought and the service to which they are entitled. To relate this is merely to recognize a fact in the recounting of things Puerto Rican.

For a long time the fast mail steamers between New York and Puerto Rico have left each port shortly after midday every Thursday, to reach their destination at early dawn on Monday, the fourth morning. This is no measure of the speed capacity of the liners, but to shorten the voyage by a whole day would make them expensive fuel-burners, and nothing less than one day gained would enable passengers to disembark at such a convenient hour. Early breakfast on board and early forenoon going-ashore make the convenience complete and the arrival propitious.

The traveler who is not yet blasé, and, indeed, the accustomed traveler who properly values the entrance to San Juan port, rises in time to see the sunrise and the approach to the ancient city. The outmost of the sentry-boxes on the battlements of El Morro, the look of impregnability that the ancient walls and embrasures contribute, even though we know the fortifications to be as obsolete as tallow candles, the breakers that pound away at the base of the fortress with the sweep of the whole Atlantic behind them, and then the sudden entrance around the channel buoys to where the city rises above the harbor—all this makes a truly memorable scene in the tropic morning light.

Almost overhanging the water and the cliff as El Morro is left behind rises Casa Blanca, flying the American flag at full staff, built in his absence to be the official residence for Ponce de Leon, first Governor-General of Puerto Rico, although he died before its completion, and now, after four hundred years, the headquarters residence of the United States army colonel commanding the troops at El Morro and other military posts on the island.

Another three hundred yards and the passenger at the rail is staring at the next promontory of the cliff, where flies another American flag, this one apeak over La Fortaleza. Through all the later centuries "the large fort" has been the seat of government and royalty, known also as the palace of Santa Catalina, headquarters and residence of the captains-general of Puerto Rico, till the Spaniards departed and, in natural sequence, ever since the Americans came.

So in succession appear the frowning beauties of the ancient city, and the newer ones that have followed in more recent years. If no more than the waterfront were to be the sightseer's privilege, he has had enough to repay him for the journey before the ship's lines are made fast.

It is a gay and spirited scene that opens from the Embarcadero. In Spanish days it was necessary to anchor such ships out in the harbor, and transfer passengers and freight to their land destination by ladders and small boats. Shoal water and a shoal colonial purse made harbor improvements difficult to obtain. Now the sea-wall and its modern piers and wharves are available for vessels of considerable draft at all stages of the tide.

Public buildings occupy a part of the immediate waterfront —noteworthily a custom-house which is an architectural success in its beauty, its fitness in the surroundings, and its excellence of design and practicality. A prison beyond, under the shadow of the cliff, is still a relic of the days of Spain, a utilitarian prison, no doubt, which does not call for praise in its comfort or its art. Still to the left of the custom-house are government warehouses, the structures and stations of various Federal activities, such as the Coast Guard, the Lighthouse Service, the offices of the Quarantine and Health authorities, the Harbor Board, etc., until that circuit is halted by the water outlook through the harbor entrance to the Atlantic. Across San Juan Bay is Cataño, not so far from the veritable site of Caparra, first settlement on the island, selected by Ponce de Leon himself as the beginning of Spanish civilization in Puerto Rico.

The traveler taking delight in the harbor views and the foreground, vessels in dock and vessels at anchor, busy ferries and busy wharves, may find his attention suddenly captured by the roar of motors overhead. A spacious peninsula projecting into the harbor itself, almost in hailing distance from the steamer's deck, is the airplane landing-field of a busy traffic. Few airports are so near and fortunately situated at the very threshold of the cities they serve. This airport, so convenient alike for flying-boats and land-planes, is steadily enlarging as needs increase.

San Juan is a station of major importance in the aerial communication between North and South America. Flying clipper ships have become a commonplace in the island capital. All of the Lesser Antilles and the entire east coast of South America are connected with North America by this route via San Juan, and the service in every direction is so standardized and familiar that it ceases to be a surprise to the visitor. Island and continental service for mail and passengers makes its connection with the land lines of the United States at Miami, only eight hours distant by air.

New York mail and passengers travel between New York and San Juan via Miami in less than twenty-four hours—and when they reach the San Juan landing stage they are in the heart of the capital. Thus the tourist who wants to be in reach of quick transit between the tropics and his office need feel no isolation in San Juan with steamships and airplanes, radio and long-distance telephone, and all the various cable systems awaiting his convenience as he steps on shore.

Chapter IX

"FIRST CATCH YOUR TOURIST"

IT is a natural attitude on the part of Puerto Ricans that they should expect a greater flow of visitors—visitors with money—into the beautiful island, a more enthusiastic expression of pleasure, a more resolute return for longer holidays year after year, and, in general, a rising tide of tourist travel. Puerto Ricans love their island and its beauties to the point of devotion. A few of them, relatively speaking, have traveled elsewhere and have acquired standards of comparison so that they are qualified to judge matters of scenery and climate even though they have not all adequately sensed comparisons of another sort.

But those who have not journeyed elsewhere are fixed in their consciousness that Puerto Rico is the one most beautiful spot on earth. They lack standards of comparison. They have no concept as to what justifies either distaste or praise in the provisions made for the tourist travelers whose patronage is so besought, and they think it narrowness which stops just short of stupidity that continental Americans by the thousand do not choose holidays in Puerto Rico, rather than in those places where the winter multitudes now gather.

The European traveler making his first voyage to America, knows that every one he meets will ask how he likes the city where he has just landed and the things he has yet to observe. This inquiry is partly a rhetorical question, but partly also for reassurance that things are found interesting and agreeable. With our own habit in this matter so well established, it should be no surprise to the reader that exactly the same questionings confront the traveler in Puerto Rico. And because the island is small, out of the line of wide and cosmopolitan travel, distressed and backward in so many ways, Puerto Ricans ask those questions the more hopefully, and are properly glad when the responses confirm their pride in the perfections of their island home. The present traveler and writer shrinks from any tempering of the myriad appreciative compliments that deserve to be paid, as do other observers. Hospitable island friends may too easily think that some of the judgments and some of the facts which follow are all but unkind, despite the spirit which actuates the comment.

Here is the obvious case for Puerto Rico. It is an island of such scenic beauty and such varied natural charm that only hyperbole could do it justice. From first glimpse to last, wherever one goes, those beauties multiply and successive journeys do not lessen them. By night or by day the mountains and valleys, the skies and waters, the trees and flowers lend their glamour to the increase of pleasure and comfort. The bounty of nature goes far to make it truly the happy island.

From New York to San Juan is somewhat less than 1,400 miles—a little more than twice the distance to Bermuda, to which the passage is consistently rougher, and where the extent and variety of scenery are far inferior, and the delights of climate and natural conditions far less alluring. From southern Florida to San Juan over tropic seas the distance is substantially less, and if tourist traveling facilities were to be provided for service from Miami to San Juan by way of Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo it would become practically a land voyage all the way, through still more varied and interesting aspects of man and nature.

Neither distance nor conditions, therefore, stand as natural obstacles to a steady flow of tourists from the continental United States. An accessible winter tourist trade should become available to this island of manifold beauties at moderate cost for travel, and with accommodations upon every scale for the short-time or the long-time visitor. Time and cost and the American tropics should justly win the favor of thousands who find California too far away, or who tire of low-altitude Florida and coral-strand Bermuda.

This island is the only destination available by a short four-day voyage for that host of those who yearn for mild adventure in exotic lands, while at the same time they shrink from actual foreign travel, fearing to be lost without language, and feeling no sense of comfortable security except under their own national flag! Such timorous travelers dread the difficulties of landing and travel among strange people, even though they wish to enjoy the thrill of strangeness. They shy at the embarrassment of phrase-books. They feel trepidation over the hazard that they may run counter to unfamiliar laws and customs, and they imagine all sorts of difficulties from which they will perhaps need to be rescued by a consul-general or the entire State Department and the diplomatic corps. And here within four days of the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, they can find the heart of the tropics, the ruins of an ancient civilization, a royal palace, the royal palm, the hibiscus and the flaming tree, the strange customs of another race, and over all the same American flag and American law, with no more embarrassment about landing in bilingual novelty than just enough for a little thrill of adventure! Thus to go abroad at home becomes a potent influence in the development of the prospective Puerto Rican tourist trade.

Now what happens as to this tropical island of extremest natural beauty, forty years under the American flag, picturesque with the ruined romance of centuries, stepping-stone to all South America, and potentially a constructive experiment-station of interest and value to travelers, as well as to those who live there with proper pride in their ancient land?

Man has not done the things that are necessary to develop and establish Puerto Rico as the recipient of what could be a fruitful contribution toward pleasure, prosperity, and understandings of far-reaching value. A few hundreds annually, in contrast with what should be many thousands, reach Puerto Rico for hasty glimpses of what nature and man have done, too often misinterpreting both. A small fraction of these stay long enough to become familiar with island geography and the wealth of exotic flowers and foliage. Some sense the things of charm and beauty and come again. Some depart quenched in their ardor by the distasteful things and the inadequacies that confront them unnecessarily. In total, however, all of these become but a fraction of the numbers that could be counted if man would work with Nature for the development of what might easily become one of the half-dozen largest industries of the island, large, and inexhaustible.

No governor since the American occupation has failed to bespeak and urge activities and provision for the substantial development of the tourist trade. Certainly no governor has been more earnestly behind that possibility than Governor Winship, himself a cosmopolitan in spirit and experience, earnest in his imagination and his devotion to the island. It is an indication of the disappointing facts as forty years are ending, that a floating hotel in the person of the great ship *Leviathan*, to be anchored in San Juan harbor, for a season became the best suggestion that the groping authorities and students of the situation could find to meet conditions that now exist. One is reluctant to speak disparagingly of any suggestion so well-actuated, but the circumstance becomes an evidence of the conscious lack, and the forlorn conditions that are sought to be overcome.

Here is the vicious circle of surrounding circumstances. Puerto Rico in most respects is an integral part of the United States and under the laws, therefore, becomes subject to the conditions of coastal trade and shipping. Passengers between the Puerto Rican ports and ports of the continental United States may not be carried lawfully except upon vessels of American registry. Numerous vessels plying from Atlantic ports southward into the West Indies and along the coasts of South America, flying other flags, are therefore unable to transport passengers to or from the island. Therefore they do not touch the island of Puerto Rico, although their courses would make it but a short increase of mileage if they could share that potentially rich traffic stream.

The only ships that now may carry passengers between the continental ports of the United States and Puerto Rico are those of one line, the New York and Porto Rico Steamship Company—two small, though modern, liners, two sailings a week—and three or four other still smaller ones of other lines and of less regular schedule out of Philadelphia, Baltimore and Mobile. They are all energetic advertisers, and they help to extend the long list of lines and ships in the publicity and promotion literature which is calculated to entice island travel, but their total of accommodations for travelers is only a few hundred a week by the most generous estimates. This total now, of course, is largely required for the normal trade of those people who have business affairs in the United States and in Puerto Rico, residents, traveling officials, and such other passengers as do not fall into the tourist category.

The demand for space on all these vessels, the irregular as well as the regular liners, is so heavy through the greater part of the year that bookings must be made far in advance, and travelers have to be governed by vacancy space and long-time reservations if they are to be assured of passage, rather than by their preferential dates of sailing. Highly subsidized as mailships to Puerto Rico and to the Dominican Republic though the weekly liners are, one still hesitates to controvert their owners' earnest contention that the line is not profitable. With congressional investigations not yet concluded it seems certain, however, that they are not adequate to take care of the trade that offers.

Another segment of the vicious circle now appears. Those lines that carry passengers, a few or a few hundred altogether, advertise with customary skill and allurement the charms of the Caribbean, the delights of an ocean voyage through the tropics, and the beauties of the island paradise which is their destination. Doing this they sell return tickets for tourists running from ten to fourteen days, with no stopover permitted, allowing three or four days in port, during which the tour passengers live on board, with daily excursions provided. This phase of the business absorbs so much space with those round-trip passengers that the accommodations available for the one-month or three-months tourist become meager after the business trade is also absorbed—so meager that such tourists sometimes find it hard to get away from the island.

To the foregoing must be added the travel fostered by other steamship companies under other flags, many such vessels, including some of the greatest liners in the world, taking parties of hundreds into the tropic seas every winter. They make landings at San Juan for a day or two, permitting a hasty glance at the nearby beauties of the island, but they too are only cruising, the ship is the traveler's home, and they make no contribution of consequence to the tourist trade.

In the last quadrant of the circle one reluctantly reaches the matter of accommodations for those who do stay over, and who might be multiplied into the thousands if favorable conditions could be established. The truth is that if more steamships were suddenly to be magicked out of thin air, and a multitude of passengers allured to the pleasures of the winter voyage and a leisurely holiday in Puerto Rico, they would find no accommodations adequate to take care of any substantial number of them with any approach to the standards of excellence demanded by tourists.

Here is an island of such exceptional beauty of scenery and comfort of climate that it can hardly be overpraised, with its three larger cities from which all parts of the island may be comfortably reached in a few hours by automobile. Besides these there are several smaller cities and half a dozen mountain and forest resorts which geographically, scenically, and otherwise would be attractive as centers for a sightseeing tourist, and as favorable locations from which to observe island industry, people, and prospects. All of those places put together, in this island one hundred miles from east to west and thirty-five miles from north to south, could not accommodate in any reasonable comfort of shelter and subsistence as many travelers as might reach the island in two voyages of a modern liner.

The largest hotel in the capital city would have difficulty in absorbing two hundred of them and another two hundred would crowd the remaining hotels in San Juan. Ponce and Mayagüez could hardly accommodate more than another hundred without difficulty. Aguadilla, Arecibo, Guayama, and half a dozen smaller cities, might house still another hundred, but not in what American tourists would endure as hotels. Two or three of the inland mountain resorts, with scant room for from twenty to fifty each, would be delightful to the wayfarer for their novelty and "atmosphere," but even so the total of this hasty estimate does not become enough to house a tourist trade of magnitude as an island industry.

Credit the hospitable intentions of all that I have reckoned, and the shelter they could provide in hotels and lodgings, but even that does not mean, as to more than half of them, any approach to what we call modern plumbing, with properly drained bathtubs, toilets, and such other fundamental comforts and sanitation as would be the first American imperative in a tropical island. For many of them outside the capital—or even inside—it does not imply a cuisine of even simple meals which would seem well-chosen and well-cooked, not even of the exotic foods provided. In most of them the meats and poultry would be far from acceptable, and there would be no clear understanding on the part of the kindly hotel-keeper or restaurant-keeper as to why the traveler should not want to stay longer, and could not enjoy the accommodations provided.

In a few of the larger cities—this does not apply to San

Juan—the need has become so great for some way to take care of the infrequent American tourist or business traveler, that some small enterprise has been started by an American household to meet the situation. If one knows where to go, this may serve the wayfarer who wants simple, clean, palatable food, with lodging of cleanliness and restfulness even at a warrantably high price. In one city a small but excellent private hospital receives travelers for lodging and board. There are two or three American plantation-owners who take mercy on the stranger and provide food and lodging on a hotel basis. One camp with detached cabins and a recreation-hall and refectory under American ownership has highly justified its popularity. For such things travelers may well be thankful, but not until a succession of real hotels of comfort and quality become available through the circuit of the island can exacting tourists be warrantably urged to take extended vacations in Puerto Rico, unless they are truly guided as to the circumstances which they must accept with patience.

To summarize the situation, therefore, it seems clear that a vigorous campaign of promotion and publicity to develop tourist trade for Puerto Rico will first collide with the impossibility of transporting a greatly multiplied number of tourists to the island. If they can be delivered to the island with the intent of finding accommodations for protracted holidays, they will not find such accommodations in any adequate quantity to receive them, even in the larger cities, and they will find no accommodations at all such as would make slow and intimate tours possible in any degree of comfort. They will depart before they intended to do so, they will carry negative reports away with them, and they will not be led into return journeys; nor will they take pleasure in the urging of hesitant friends to similar journeys.

The roads of Puerto Rico have been built by man, so that every part of the island is readily and speedily accessible through scenes of varied beauty. Nature placed the beauty and the charm there where all men may see. It is not enough to have made this possible. To the possibility should be added the day-by-day accommodations, so clean, so comfortable, and so satisfying that travelers of every station will find their memories calling them back with renewed appreciation.

It is not an island for recreational mountain-climbing or for exploration, not an island for pedestrian tours among the steep grades of the ranges, not an island for hardships and pioneering, not an island for roughing it. Tropic nights call for screened sleeping-porches in the soft air and the starlight. Tropic days call for light clothing, simple food, fresh air, spacious rooms, and rest as one tours. Tropic hotels need bathrooms beyond counting, with plenty of cold water and plenty of hot water—this latter all but unknown in the island. None of this implies wasteful expenditure, lavish luxury, or anything but simplicity and intelligence of plan, execution and operation. Nevertheless, even this outline of first requirements sounds like a counsel of perfection.

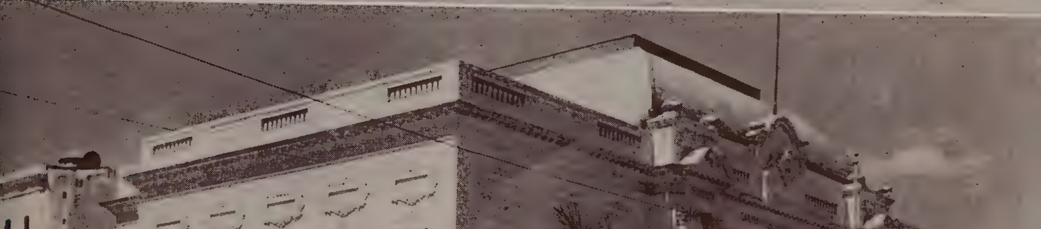
In this effort at frankness let one write himself down as of the incorrigible traveler type. Many years in strange lands under difficult conditions have made him almost indifferent to the creature comforts and standards which he is urging as the obvious needs of Puerto Rico. He possesses complete capacity to enjoy whatever things there are, and be indifferent to those that are not. That is the subjective circumstance. But objectively he knows why the tourist trade can't be brought to Puerto Rico with transportation facilities as they are; can't be accommodated in Puerto Rico with hotels and other accommodations as they are; and can't get home without an accumulated set of disappointments and criticisms which would make a concerted effort to stimulate the tourist business, without advance provision for it, a wasteful mistake.

The incorrigible traveler who will try anything, rise superior to discomforts, keep his eye and his thought on the scenery rather than the sanitation, and forget everything but the glamorous novelties and the "quaint," will continue to come, a few at a time. But he is no tourist, and he is not the opulent source of revenues that the tourist might be, on an industrial scale, with prosperity resulting where it is most needed.

For another thing, the foregoing analysis of a chain of circumstances must not obscure the fact that a few people, scattered through the season, will find excellent accommodations and entire comfort for a long stay in San Juan and its environs, or for a leisurely tour based on halts at half a dozen places where travelers can be truly comfortable. It is the intention only to urge that one fine hotel at the capital, and a few other places where small parties can be housed, do not make available a round of delight for a multiplied inflow of tourists for a winter season in the American tropics. They are no less entitled to recognition for what they provide in excellence because they are not manifolded. But this defines things as they are.

If one seeks to find the entire solution, it is difficult except by following once more around the vicious circle. Tourists can be brought to the island in such numbers as to be an important industry for those who cater to them, and they will bring into the island such an increased amount of money in circulation that by percolation it will enliven every purse. This can be done by a systematic, intelligent and liberal expenditure of promotional and publicity effort, guided skilfully and economically, but necessarily a total expenditure that will seem forbidding.

The bringing of those tourists requires educating them to the desire, while making sure that large new steamships in passenger service are multiplied. But the steamships will not be provided without presumptive passenger traffic. The tourists should not be brought to the island and dumped there by the power of alluring advertisements and steamship accommodations unless and until hotels of varying size, price and comfort are provided. Outside private capital will not be poured into the island for such investment in hotels without the warrantable



- *Above:* The Condado Hotel, on the Atlantic waterfront, with this lagoon from the bay in the rear.
- *Below:* The Casino, San Juan, the center of social life.

- *Above:* The road to El Yunque, Luquillo National Forest.
- *Below:* The orange vender is to be encountered in every plaza in every town in Puerto Rico.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

presumption of that tourist travel which, however, will depend upon the effectiveness of the promotional advertising, and perhaps even then not speedily.

Island capital ought to invest heavily in that sort of enterprise, but the availability of such capital is doubtful. Those who would have to furnish it do not know the requirements of design, equipment, and operation which would make such hotels fit the situation, and they probably would not relinquish the large sums of money involved to an outside management, unfamiliar with the island and island conditions, however skilled in hotel direction elsewhere. In other words, the people who have the money to attempt such investment enterprises would have to let go of it, to be spent according to strange and divergent standards ruling elsewhere. The situation seems almost an impasse.

No hotel in all Puerto Rico, in any adequate, final way, takes the form or the characteristics which should be exemplars for others. The leading hotel in the city of San Juan is but a rebuilding of the ancient Inglaterra which was old when the Americans came forty years ago, and enlarged though it is, in the heart of the old city, it is merely another hotel of moderate size and excellence. The only hotel in Puerto Rico that has been advertised into the consciousness of American travelers is the Condado, an interesting, spacious structure facing the ocean in the outskirts of the city, of resort and semi-suburban characteristics, built some years ago by a New York coal and railway millionaire who hoped to turn it into a winter resort for rich Americans. For a time it was operated in conjunction with the Vanderbilt Hotel of New York City, but the affiliation was not continued.

One hotel does little more to make a winter resort where none has been before, than one swallow makes a summer. Changes of administration have not kept it filled, although it persists courageously in maintaining its standards. The cardrooms which were to make it famous have not been as busy as those who love hazards had hoped. A newer club, hotel and casino nearby at Escambron Beach, more garish but more gay, became a rival in part and at last an affiliated management has undertaken to make them both more profitable, a consummation not yet reached.

Using summaries again, the truth is that only hotels of large size can afford expensive campaigns of advertising to bring patronage. One hotel of one hundred rooms or less cannot carry that item in its budget all alone. Small hotels and island resorts for a dozen or, at the most, thirty or forty guests, cannot afford to do national advertising to entice trade 1,400 miles from its place of origin. A chain of hotels on the Condado scale or larger could pay for advertising and promotion from a common purse, and focus interest on a new resort. Until hotels, steamships and advertising are all promoted under a far-sighted, unified program with investment made in advance of the patronage, the effort bravely correlated with the efficiency of a great sales corporation promoting its newest product, tourist trade in volume will not be diverted to Puerto Rico. The processes, accommodations and economies now in effect will not do it.

As the lingo of big business and the advertising agencies would put it, the country must be made "Puerto Rico conscious," and Puerto Rico must be "sold" to the United States tourist trade by the expenditure of whatever appropriation is necessary to accomplish just that, without which, experimental, unsystematic promotion money will produce hardly more results than whistling up the wind of the Caribbean.

Chapter X

"ALL ABOUT PUERTO RICO IN FOUR DAYS!"

WITH all the background at command through familiarity with Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican affairs, I still persist in my reluctance to use generalizations in the island or about the island. Inconsistencies, incongruities and contradictions—impossible things—exist on every subject and at every turn. The impossible things are just as likely to be true as the others.

The incredulous traveler should recall his "Alice in Wonderland." It will be remembered that to believe impossible things is merely a matter of accustoming oneself. As the White Queen said, one might learn to believe six impossible things before breakfast. This attitude is no less a correct one, however often I may be caught generalizing.

The most assured and the most dubious source of exact information is the four-day tourist. It is impossible that tourists should really learn anything but the casual scenic geography of a colorful island within the time available to them. They seek quick opportunity for sightseeing, which they find in the scenery, the public buildings, the sports, the restaurants, the shops and the streets. They observe the "quaint" in dress, the impressive in ruins, the picturesque in mountain ranges or sugar-cane fields or needlework underwear. If they ask questions they cannot understand or check the answers for accuracy. They are shown—what they are shown. They may be horrified by dirt or poverty—or they may think it "interesting." If they are so fortunate as to meet a few Puerto Ricans in some friendly way, it is the exotic amenities that they note and relate. Even if they speak the same language, so far as vocabulary is concerned, they are not "on the same wire." The same words do not mean the same ideas, or at least they may not. Some subjects are taboo by the conventions of politeness, or the church, or the imbedded racial development of centuries. They cannot read the language of the newspapers, they cannot know whether what they are hearing or translating is the utterance of a demagogue or a statesman.

If by chance the four-day tourist stays longer or comes oftener, being metamorphosed into a seasonal visitor, the situation is but slightly modified. Some such stay because they like the climate, some like the rest and the ease they can obtain. Few of them care to dig into the life of the people, making themselves a part of it and understanding it with intimacy.

One passenger who goes ashore as his voyage ends, impressed by the romance of his immediate surroundings, may feel that he has stepped backward into antiquity. The frowning fortress walls which bear the scars of centuries, the abrupt turns and climbings of the narrow streets, the crowded sidewalks no wider than a footpath, the sound of bells and the sudden appearance of a church or a historic tablet in the crowded thoroughfare, the adhesive beggars who soon cease to be picturesque parts of the landscape, the business that is done almost in hand-reach of the crowd because the windows and the shop doors stand wide open to the sidewalks, the tangle of automobiles in surpassing number and pedestrians trying to use the same street, and the buzz of a gesticulated, vociferously dramatized strange language always in his ear—these surroundings may easily fix themselves as an index of all the island.

Among the externals immediately thrust upon the attention is the conspicuous and all but universal offering and sale of lottery tickets. Sheets of them, sheaves of them, one might almost say acres of them are thrust upon every passer-by. This, of course, is a legalized lottery, established and maintained as a revenue resource by the insular government. Either to approve or disapprove does not enter into the traveler's duties, but at least he will have his initial surprise in finding the institution so generally patronized. Traveler's tales are told of amazing good fortune in the drawing of prizes where poverty suddenly turns to wealth. The treasury of the island enjoys substantial profit from the operations of the lottery, and the mass population squeezes out the required price of a fractional ticket in the poorest households at whatever sacrifice. Venders cluster at the street-corners to sell tickets after the fashion of newsboys with their daily papers. Doorsteps on the shady side of busy streets are favorite stations. They even infest the bank entrances, which is a habit that one would not expect the banks to tolerate. Altogether they become a nuisance to the traveler, to be only an acquired taste after the first interest passes.

Another traveler of equal good cheer, but less susceptible to the charm of the romantic, from the very beginning may strike his critical attitude and concentrate on the things he could wish to be different. He will light upon the difficulties of streets too narrow for the people and the business that must share them, the unsanitary survival of ancient houses such as are still crowded too thickly throughout the city, the labyrinthine corridors and courtyards which disappear into the shadows of interior blocks, where no stranger ever advances far in the intrusion upon those who dwell there, and, in general, what he esteems the neglected opportunity to "modernize" the ancient city.

The truth is that all of these various things are present, so intermingled that they can hardly be sorted out for praise or blame without unfairness. To "modernize" San Juan with the ruthlessness that some iconoclasts have urged would be to destroy rich values of history, romance and beauty quite beyond power to evaluate. Fortunately sentiment, continental American as well as insular Puerto Rican, is crystallized to that extent, and no destructive program is destined to make headway. Indeed, it is something of a shock to find that in the business quarters particularly, for the sake of efficiency, there is too much surrender to that destructive spirit. Old-fashioned business houses, stores, warehouses and the like seem more in keeping with the beauties of Spanish age and architecture—the city as it slept for so many centuries—than do the modern stores or office buildings.

Some of the important American financial and business institutions, entering into the opportunities of the new regime whether for selfish or unselfish motives, have succeeded in utilizing the old, or the imitation of it, with due architectural respect to the past as well as the present. Some have done worse. There are banks and office buildings and business houses that shock the eye of the traveler because some architect has thought fit to erect for his client a New England Colonial or a Kansas Renaissance or a twentieth-century modernistic structure in the incongruous belief that he was making an "improvement."

There were Puerto Ricans who regrettably put themselves in the hands of such architects, and continental Americans who would have done better to seek some guidance other than that of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. There are office buildings and department stores of modern construction in San Juan, "sky-scrapers" of five or six stories, busy with affairs of consequence, which are no better and no worse than the box-like office buildings of similar size and practicality in every North American city, ugly, drab and uninviting, typically American one must ruefully admit, but doubly shocking when found in Puerto Rico. Certainly some architects have "muffed their chance" by doing thus at a time when they had opportunity to do things of distinction, appropriate to the place and the surroundings, failing to adapt fine Spanish forms and characteristics to the modernized use and spirit of the new regime.

Even as I write, there has been happening in San Juan something which indicates the possibilities and the hazards in such a situation. A local banking house of substantial resources and high standing, occupying an advantageous location in the most favored financial district, found it necessary to tear down its old building, sadly outgrown, requiring the scattered use of three or four other structures, and erect a new and adequate one upon the same site. All conditions made it necessary that this should be a relatively tall building to meet the circumstances—a "skyscraper," as Puerto Rican practise regards it, of ten stories in height.

Architects of distinction in the continental United States were given an opportunity to formulate the plans. The things that were submitted included some of the most hopeless mistakes of incongruity, the most inappropriate conception, design and execution that could well be imagined. It seemed as if no respect had been paid to the surroundings, the traditions, or anything else but the utilities within the walls. Such a design might have been just as fitly submitted for a bank in San Antonio or Sault Ste. Marie, Pawtucket or Peoria. The bankers whose money was to be spent ruefully regarded what the great architects from up North had submitted, and with the aid of local Puerto Rican architects and their own contribution of good taste and serious consideration, there was a rising hope that something better would be submitted in revision.

If the stranger traveler arriving in San Juan has a whimsical Puerto Rican friend, he may be told that San Juan and its environs will remind him of New York City. The similarity, however, is not one of dimensions. San Juan, with the metropolitan district which includes the suburbs, has a population of something less than 140,000. Nevertheless, San Juan, too, is an island.

The earliest settlement began at the tip of the island where El Morro stands as the guardian fortress, just as the Battery stood to protect New Amsterdam at the tip of Manhattan Island more than a century later. The business and financial district, and the congested residential area, far downtown, and extending from the harbor front on one side to the Atlantic Ocean on the other, offer another small-scale parallel to New York's East River and North River waterfront, and the entangled narrow streets. Then by way of afterthought in later years came the development of uptown parks, more modern public buildings, boulevards and drives, and the suburbs beyond the salt-water inlet from ocean to bay, making the island, as Spuyten Duyvil creek and the Harlem make Manhattan Island. Carrying the comparison a little farther, it is in the suburban uptown of San Juan that the choicer residential districts, the finer public and private schools, and, finally, the great University of Puerto Rico are found, just as uptown New York is the seat of the universities.

"As a further similarity," says the jester, "San Juan is the only city in the United States that still emulates New York and charges but five cents as bus and trolley-car fare. We also contend that our trolley-cars are the original model for the Toonerville Trolley."

The traveler will speak more respectfully of the bus and the trolley system as he comes to realize its service. As in many another city, the five-cent ride becomes one of the most convenient and satisfactory means of observing the geography, the exteriors, and much of the life of the island capital. Streets so narrow compel low speed and high consideration of every one. Neither by bus nor streetcar, automobile nor pedestrian, is there any general abuse of the decent requirements of caution, slow going, and frequent halting. Under any circumstance the heat of the tropics would establish a leisurely gait for the San Juan people, but the ancient metropolis ordained low speeds automatically for all time when the streets were laid out as they are. One may see the stores, the plazas, and many of the more interesting streets in leisure and comfort from the open-air trolley-car window.

Taxis by the hour or by the journey are available for those streets and those quarters that are not reached by trolley or bus.

Their rates seem reasonable, not so much because the mileage price is low as because distances are short, and one gets a good deal of service for his fare because of that fact. The steep hills and the sunny side of the street can become a matter of much discomfort to the unwitting stranger who may walk too far in midday heat unless he yields to caution.

Unless the traveler makes a real halt for a San Juan holiday, or a studious observation of the life and affairs of the island metropolis, he may actually see the city and its surroundings with a substantial accumulation of history, romance and pleasure in a few days. So much for the convenience of short distance and concentration. He may see the street exteriors and dip into the shops for island curios, or New York merchandise. He may see the same motion pictures that he might be seeing in the theaters at home, with the dialogue still rendered in the English of its production, while accompanied by expanded captions in Spanish so that the audiences will understand what is going on. He may see the parks and the suburbs in a single drive.

He may wander about El Morro under the escort of a soldier detailed for the stranger's guidance, visiting the five successive levels of that old castle from the very edge of the Atlantic breakers up through ponderous constructions of cisterns, powder-magazines, casemates, gun-emplacements, soldiers' quarters and battlements by stair and ramp, sally-port, moat and bridge all the way to the highest level, where a somewhat modern lighthouse surmounts the whole. He may follow the line of fortifications, or fragments of them remaining, almost all the way around the island, perhaps even fortunately obtaining admittance to San Cristobal, a mile up the coast from Morro, the other ancient fortification where our soldiers are still in garrison. He may see the excellent and familiar statue of Christopher Columbus, facing the Municipal Theater in Colon Plaza, and that likewise familiar statue of the debonair Ponce de Leon in the San José Plaza not far from the Cathedral, which contains the tomb and the remains of that conquistador whose name is everywhere in the island.

In these few days he may visit the gardens of Casa Blanca, residence of the colonel commanding the Puerto Rican forces, and the still more impressive historic Spanish governor's palace, La Fortaleza, where the American governor now lives. Of course, in neither of these distinguished structures are the private residential quarters open to the public, but there are rooms of interest that are freely shown, and the ancient palaces and gardens are fascinating to the visitor.

Also, if he will, he may patronize with much pleasure the bathing-pools, the restaurants, the card-rooms of such waterfront hotels and clubs as he chooses, or even find himself drawn to the races or the baseball park. He may visit the University of Puerto Rico in suburban Rio Piedras and be impressed by its attractive campus and its spacious provision for higher education. He may see abominable slums in grievous contrast with city and suburban homes of the utmost charm, poverty and wealth side by side as elsewhere. He will see an Atheneum, a School of Tropical Medicine, a Casino, hotels, restaurants, an ancient city hall, a handsome new capitol building, grandiose, but architecturally unfitting to its environment, and other public offices unchanged in the centuries, and children at play, all with an exotic coloring and variety completely at variance with things customary only four days away in the continental United States.

The four-day tourist who does not spare his energies may force one or two full days into his schedule for a glimpse of the interior of the island. Distance does not make the drive prohibitive over the military road to Ponce and back to the capital, one way via the alternate route between Cayey and Guayama, most scenic of all in some eyes.

If two days are allotted thus it would permit an overnight halt one way at Coamo Springs, the health resort which provides such charm and comfort as will greatly content the

American traveler, while still preserving the characteristic beauty and novelty of a day long past. On the reverse crossing of the island, whether outward or homeward to the capital, the journey may be broken at Treasure Island Camps with charm, comfort, and novelty of another sort without undue loss of time. An alternative to this view of the island interior might be the drive into the heart of the Luquillo National Forest Park, a tropical wilderness at its best, made ready for the tourist's comfort and delight under government administration, and a glimpse of El Yunque—the Anvil—until recently believed to be the highest mountain peak in the island.

Traveler's tales will multiply for his ear wherever he goes, some of them literally true, some with a basis of fact, and some, perhaps the better for it, fabricated out of thin air. He will hear tales of political blundering that may be true or not, tales of graft easier to allege than to prove, tales from Americans and tales from Puerto Ricans, appreciation of qualities, and harsh judgment about the very same men and women. When that much has been done, and his four-day holiday is at an end, he may return home with a wealth of impressions and memories and a still greater wealth of misinformation with which to explain everything Puerto Rican.

Chapter XI

TAKING PUERTO RICO AS IT COMES

THE Grand Tour of Puerto Rico, whether by written word or in actuality, is most easily made by the highway route. Entangled as the mountains and the valleys are, the towns and cities scattered throughout the island are in ready access. Island geography soon becomes simplified in the understanding of the traveler, however confused it may be in the landscape and however tortuous the roads. Not often in any land are the highway routes so systematically planned and constructed. Spanish military engineers set the pace, American army engineers advanced the program, and insular engineers have continued to survey and build in a manner meriting the highest praise.

During the worst of the years of depression there was some necessary slackening of expenditure for this purpose from the insular treasury, and a period of some interruption, therefore, until liberal funds for further work under joint expenditure became possible through the appropriation of Federal aid in the program of island relief. Further highway building of late has been in considerable degree an element in projects undertaken with Federal funds.

As a preliminary of tribute to the interest and beauty of the whole island the basic geographical essentials should be noted. The island may be visualized as a rough parallelogram, its maximum length over all about one hundred miles from east to west and its breadth about thirty-five miles from north to south. Generally speaking there is a surrounding coastal plain, sometimes narrow and sometimes broad, of rich and accessible land in high cultivation. The first settlements naturally grew around this circuit of the island, at the places where the better safe harbors were found. As a measure of caution against the assaults of an invading enemy, during the centuries of colonization and warfare the coastal settlements were often hardly more than landing-places, with towns established a few miles inland where they were less readily subject to destructive bombardment.

Back of the coastal plain rise the mountains in that confusion of irregularity which justified Columbus with his crumpled sheet of paper. These mountains are of no such conventional pattern as to encourage easy wandering. Heavily wooded, with abrupt slopes and a labyrinth of twisted terrain that must have wearied the conquerors in their slow explorations, there is little semblance to the symmetrical ranges which make some mountain regions a mere succession of terraces. The traveler who reaches a Puerto Rican mountaintop and takes observation of the astounding tangle of hill and valley, cliff and meadow, forest and plain, height and depth that make Puerto Rico, sees a veritable relief map such as those that are modeled for museum visitors, as if the vertical scale were actually ten times that of the horizontal scale, so theatrically overemphasized the landscape seems.

In describing Puerto Rico, early reference is always made to the Spanish Military Highway, the *Carretera Militar,* such a dominant factor in the affairs of the island. Once localized as it was, the system of which it was the nucleus has expanded until now the old caption covers an increased mileage that could hardly have been imagined at the time of the first construction.

It was as a military measure rather than a trade route, despite its importance for the latter purpose, that the Spaniards built this highway from San Juan, the capital, to Ponce, second city in island importance, roughly a diagonal route from northeast to southwest, so that one coast or the other could be the more readily reenforced by interior communication lines in any emergency. This road from San Juan to Ponce, eighty-one miles in length by way of Rio Piedras, Caguas, Cayey, Aibonito, Coamo and Juana Diaz, really justified the boastings with which it was and is still brought to the traveler's first attention. Casual reference has it that this stretch of roadway cost Spain two million dollars.

This highway and the sixteen-mile branch from Cayey to Guayama were virtually the only highways of permanent engineering excellence existing in the island when the Americans made their first landing in 1898. The military highway had been completed only ten years earlier. Except for the public buildings—fortresses, palaces, barracks, churches, prisons, convents, and town halls—the military road was all but the only structural gift to colonial civilization that the Spanish had made in four centuries.

The faults of the road, however undeniable, were largely intrinsic to the region traversed. The road still stands staunch after fifty years of heavy traffic far beyond what it might have been expected to carry. Only by a revising of the mountains themselves, and a new creation of many miles of tunnels under the confusion of mountains, could the myriad hairpin curves and heavy grades be avoided. The highway was intended for marching men, not for automobiles in an unguessed future. Rest-houses for troops crossing the island were frequent. These and the adjacent roadside houses where the maintenance laborers were housed, show what short marches were intended and what care the highway was to have. The peasant carter or the muleteer, like the pedestrian, could look out for himself at the roadside.

Because it was for the use of marching men rather than speed demons, those hairpin curves were not hazardous to them, the countless bridges needed no balustrades, a narrow road was adequate. But those bridges were built of solid masonry and there they stand, their arches as sturdy as the day they were built.

American army engineers, arriving with the troops in 1898, paid professional compliments to the Spanish engineers who had left such worthy work behind them. The American troops who were to fight their way across the island, in that theoretical converging campaign against San Juan, would have had to overcome the barriers established by Nature, as well as the more negligible entrenchments of the comparatively few Spanish forces who would confront them. There are remembrances to confirm that fact in the names of Maricao, Lares, Adjuntas and Utuado, whenever veterans of the Spanish-American War meet for reminiscence. On the military highway from Ponce, Juana Diaz, Coamo and Aibonito are not forgotten. The southerly towns, and the roads and pathways that lead beyond them into the mountains, in the memories of the troops who served in Puerto Rico, rank with Guantanamo, Daiquiri and Siboney of the first Cuban expedition. But as far as it went, Puerto Rico possessed something in the military highway beyond any similar Cuban factor.

When the Spanish regime ended, there was a total of about 158 miles of finished hard-surfaced roads of permanent engineering in the entire island. Within the three-year period of the American occupation under military governors, army engineers extended the system of similar highways to a total of 256 miles. These extensions had been built under American specifications by American methods, but it is difficult to contend that they were superior to what had been done by their Spanish predecessors, and they followed out quite generally the location surveys and recommendations of the Spanish engineers.

From the beginning of civil government on May 1, 1900, until the last reported mile in 1937, the total has been expanded by nearly 1,200 additional miles. It is an evidence of energy and of liberal expenditure that such an amount of work has been accomplished with a degree of permanence which may well be envied by many a highway department in the continental United States. In the estimation of many, the military road was the most valuable possession left by the ancient regime when it passed on. There are those now who name the expanded highway system as the most valuable physical possession created since then. It must not be thought that in any considerable part this has been an achievement of the incoming Americans. It is the Division of Public Works of the Department of the Interior of the Insular Government of Puerto Rico that has accomplished the greater volume of construction and maintenance, with an efficiency and energy which the Puerto Ricans quite justly mention with pride.

In this connection one may take note that this Department of the Interior is the map-making and map-selling agency upon which travelers wisely depend. Folding highway maps of the type common in the continental United States are not familiarly found in Puerto Rico. The small-scale geographical maps that show towns, rivers, railways and mountains do not indicate the highways.

A visitor to the Division of Public Works finds well-drawn, legible maps in the form of photographic blueprints, up to the minute, carrying a body of detail that makes the legend the larger part of the sheet. The factual text is entirely in Spanish, but easy to understand, and the maps carry distances in kilometers and in miles, side by side. The *carreteras,* or highways, are designated by number as they are at home, with the military road as Carretera No. 1. Under these numbered designations, there appears a list of cross-roads and towns, with the distances indicated and with junction points and alternative routes noted.

On 1937's blueprint map seventy-eight highways are thus indicated and indexed, in length all the way from less than a mile to the trunk lines of highest importance. Besides these *carreteras* or highways of the first class, the map indexes forty-one *ramales,* which means the connecting junction-point lines, as well as by-passes, short extensions, and projects in work, near completion or interrupted.

In the cause of inquiry and observation, sightseeing and the renewal of friendships, examination of island conditions and projects, the presenting of letters of introduction or the enjoyment of hospitality, and other research in preparation for the writing of these pages, my wife and I drove at least once over some 1,200 miles of the island highway system, much of it several times. In an island of the dimensions of Puerto Rico, with a road system of the mileage indicated, it is obvious that no point can be more than a few miles distant from one or more highway routes. In so far as the blueprint map or, indeed, the small endpaper map in this volume, shows blank spaces, it should not be forgotten that when scale is kept in mind those spaces are by no means wide. Inaccessibility is a matter of mountain grades and curves rather than miles.

There is a railway system in Puerto Rico which appears to deserve more than the casual comments made by Puerto Ricans. In the beginning, a charter for such a line was granted by Spanish authority to a group of French capitalists. Their plan was to construct a narrow-gage line right around the island, connecting all the coast cities, and building branches toward the interior.

The old charter was absorbed by a new corporation called the American Railroad Company of Porto Rico, following the ending of the Spanish regime, and construction continued intermittently until the line ultimately reached completion except for one gap. The line makes a continuous circuit of the island from Humacao northeast to Fajardo, thence west to San Juan, Arecibo, and Aguadilla on the northwest coast, thence south to Mayagüez, and eastward, via Ponce, to Guayama. The total length of this line so nearly encircling the island is some three hundred miles, while the unclosed gap from Guayama to Humacao is but forty-six miles.

Nevertheless, it is to be doubted whether construction will ever connect these terminals. So complete is the highway system, so universal the automobile, and so habituated to a highly organized distribution of freight and passengers throughout the island by bus and truck have the people become, that there is no substantial demand for further railway construction.

This does not controvert the value of the railway as a going enterprise. For one thing, its existence becomes an economic factor of high importance in the governing of freight rates by truck. The regulative influence of each of these systems upon the rates of the other in a competitive field so small and so congested cannot be ignored. Additional to this, the sugar industry requires steam railway facilities for the handling of the huge crop of sugar-cane. Private railway lines traverse the plantations and connect with the circumferential railway system, so that all of this area has ready access by steam to the harvest fields and likewise to the *centrals*—the sugar-mills of this greatest of Puerto Rican industries.

There is an all-night train and an all-day train in each direction by way of the long route from San Juan to Ponce via Mayagüez. There was a time when those trains carried first-, second- and third-class passengers, and Pullman cars, but the sleeping-cars are no more used, and passengers are of less consequence as an earning item than they used to be. The timecard is a factor of discouragement to passenger service. The train that leaves San Juan at 7:20 in the morning does not reach Mayagüez until two o'clock in the afternoon, after delays that are sorely irksome. It is a scenic ride, much of it along the coast, but seven hours for one hundred twenty-five miles is no treat for the average traveler, when automobiles charge a lower fare and reach their destination in two hours less time.

In San Juan and other cities regular agencies exist on a small scale where one may book his passage to any chosen destination on buses operating at convenient intervals of time and at reasonable price—two dollars from San Juan to Mayagüez, for instance. Such buses as these are really nothing but unaltered sedans, carrying four passengers besides the chauffeur. The rate for each of the three passengers in the rear seat is usually a little lower than that for the single passenger in front with the chauffeur.

For short-distance local travel from town to town buses operate at an extremely low local fare, running from five cents to twenty-five cents per passenger. Vehicles in this service are generally so antiquated that they can hardly pretend to offer comfort, but merely transportation. "Wah-wah," is the vernacular usage in the naming of the institution, spelled "*guagua*," and patronized by every peasant who has a journey to make beyond his walking powers. The strange contraptions make their journeys by main strength over the mountain roads, giving a surprising distribution at low cost to the laborers who shift the location of their day's work to fit the seasons, covering far more mileage than is customary with transient labor in the United States.

A sort of exaggerated station-wagon all but broken down, crowding its dozen or twenty passengers into space hardly comfortable for half the number, the *guagua* is truly a Puerto Rican institution. The nonchalant chauffeur knows everybody on his route, every farm, every shack, and all the local news and gossip. An approaching *guagua* makes much clatter of its own, but vocally the cheerful passengers are no less articulate, and there is news and gossip for every new passenger who gets aboard. Apparently there is always room for another, and a good-natured acceptance of the discomfort.

Upon these highways of Puerto Rico, therefore, we have to deal with road and driving conditions thoroughly established, taking them as they are rather than as they might be. With the roads so narrow and so constantly in the process of curving around hairpin turns, with a mountain precipice on one side and a mountain gorge on the other, it is apparent that high speed is all but impossible. It merely seems like high speed. There are virtually no signs posted on the highways to indicate curves, narrow bridges, and heavy grades. Chauffeurs are supposed to know such things without signs, and signs require reading, which is not by any means a universal accomplishment. We saw only one "Shift gears—dangerous hill" posted as a warning, and that one was on private property, not on the highway.

The timorous traveler, entrusting himself to a Puerto Rican chauffeur, must become highly engrossed in the splendor of the scenery if he is to remain unconscious of his fears. The horn of the motor sounds an almost continuous note of warning to the car that must be coming from the other direction right ahead, even though it cannot be seen or heard around the curve. A thirty-five mile speed per hour gives one the sensation of sixty miles on our familiar broad highways.

In large number the speedometers register kilometers instead of miles. More than once I have known a traveler to watch the dial furtively and fearfully through a long mountain drive before he knew of this difference. With the arrow pointing to forty or fifty kilometers, and the consciousness of speed registering alarm in the passenger's mind, he took much relief and comfort when it finally came to his knowledge that the rate in miles was actually less than two-thirds of what he had been reading on the dial—and quite fast enough at that.

The Puerto Rican chauffeur seems to be a law unto himself. The first impression is that he is disregarding every reasonable caution, using the wrong side of the road at every opportunity, turning hairpin curves on one wheel, choosing the edge of a gorge rather than the middle of the road, passing other vehicles on dangerous curves where there is no vision ahead, and blowing his horn at random more loudly when it is not necessary than at any other time.

On this matter of automobile horns, there is something to be said. Early in every traveler's stay he adopts the simple theory that all horns failing to pass inspection must be sent to Puerto Rico. This rests upon the ready assumption that not otherwise would the island air be filled with the raucous clamor that seems universal. Nowhere else does one find horns of such volume of sound, such rasping note, in such discordant key.

Then comes the astounding discovery that the automobile horns of Puerto Rico are thus and so because the Puerto Ricans like them that way. Manufacturers have learned that they must deliver such horns to be acceptable. The matter of noise—discordant noise—at the constant command of the Puerto Rican chauffeur must be an outcropping of some inferiority complex. Only in this form of self-expression does he speak with authority, so he grants himself indulgence and pleasure as his horn shrieks its mandatory way, day or night.

He may be traversing a straightaway stretch along the beach without an intersecting street or another car in sight, but the horn keeps going. It has been explained to me that since he has no intention of slackening speed or stopping at "stop" streets, and might forget to have his horn sounding at the proper place, he makes sure of himself by sounding it all the time. There are countless miles of hairpin curves where that horn creates a measure of safety, but the indiscriminate island habit is a curse to the ear.

Road conditions and the provision that has not been made for tourists unite in the discouraging of most of those who might wish to bring automobiles with them. Conditions are not inviting to the stranger driving his own car. He must surrender to the circumstances that exist, and endure what he dislikes. If he drives his car, he can do nothing else, for Puerto Rican chauffeurs have no time to look at the scenery. More than that, however, is the fact that for one's first look at the island, at least, he should travel by schedule to his successive destinations, trusting nothing to changes or conditions enroute.

If one aims for Ponce by the military highway he should go to Ponce, as if that destination were calling him inexorably. If he is aiming from San Juan to Mayagüez, by the north coast route, he should go to Mayagüez. This does not mean that there is no shelter to be found between terminals, but it does mean that no assurance of adequate accommodations, sought under impulse, can be commanded in that manner.

Americans taking to the open road in the United States, know when they start in the morning that within any single hour or two from the start they will pass a town where the local hotel would serve well enough to endure until next day if they chose to break the journey. They know that between towns they will find tourists' accommodations which would welcome them and render adequate service. They know that the highways are punctuated by filling stations which sell gas and provide casual clean comfort for brief halts.

It is a fair statement that in all the mileage of the highway system of which Puerto Ricans are so justly proud, there is hardly one rest-room clean and wholesome, conveniently available for the interrupted journey of the traveling stranger. The competitive gasoline companies which maintain the chains of filling stations all over the United States, and realize that a proper comfort-station can be their one best advertisement, although represented widely in Puerto Rico, seem to have no similar concept in that territory.

Some one or more of those energetic venders of gasoline and oil—established everywhere in Puerto Rico just as they are in Pennsylvania, Kansas, or Oregon—will surely have such vision in the course of time. The maintenance of such conveniences, with rigorous standards of cleanliness and constant supervision, would become the one most needful exemplar in the whole island for the imitation of most of the 1,800,000 islanders to whom such things are all but an utter blank. Only by example, precept and plumbing can the decencies of life finally be established as they deserve in Puerto Rico.

Fortunately the distances between cities of the greater importance are not forbidding, and presumably the traveler knows where he is going before he starts with his motor party. Also, it is true that there are a few small camps and hotels, with hospitality for a few guests, in some of the most unexpected places, either American operated or adequately inviting as a Puerto Rican enterprise. If one of those destinations has been chosen by the highway traveler for a break in the journey, or a longer stay, the halt will be well rewarded.

Still this does not contradict the general statement that no sufficient provision is established as a commonplace for random interruption of highway journeys. The five-hour drive from San Juan to Mayagüez, for instance, means five hours through a succession of well-known towns and cities, Manati, Barceloneta, Arecibo, Camuy, and Aguadilla. At least two or three of these are business and residential cities of island importance, substantial municipalities with sights to be seen and historic events associated with them. Such towns and cities are intrinsically interesting. Their activities and industries might well be observed. But the tourist would find neither restaurant nor hotel that would meet his most tolerant requirements.

The long stretch of miles by this coastal route, through a rich agricultural region of high cultivation, affords views of the Atlantic Ocean to the right and the foothills and mountains to the left, of great beauty, though somewhat less spectacular in landscape qualities than are the intersecting routes into the interior from time to time. The railway follows the same general course as the highway along this coast. Finally the mountains draw nearer to the sea, the only railway tunnel on the island becomes a landmark, the highway grades carry the road higher for an expanding view of sea and mountain, and the road nears Aguadilla for its southerly turn toward Mayagüez.

Chapter XII

THE WEST END OF THE ISLAND

THE westward view into the Mona Passage, which separates Puerto Rico from Santo Domingo, offers new mutations of light and shadow as if the Caribbean Sea to the south had been painted from a brighter palette. This western coast was the course of the discoverer's fleet, and Aguada the historic site of the first landing of Columbus. The entangled mountains are sometimes near the coast, and sometimes penetrated by the valleys down which turbulent streams find their way westward to the sea. These valleys are fertile beyond words and the people of Mayagüez, metropolis of the west coast, manifest a local pride in their part of the island that is an index of the whole insular spirit.

Mayagüez has its roadstead where ships anchor, and also dockage and warehousing for freight. The Playa—the waterfront where steamship companies have their offices, where the custom-house and the branch post-office stand, as well as branch banks and stores, schools, and the homes of ship and railway laborers—occupies the low waterfront for a mile or so facing the bay.

The north-and-south highway, which is the main street of the Playa, affords access through the cocoanut groves to a few fine homes in the outskirts of the settlement. Also, in its southern extension, it leads one to Cocoanut Hut, unpretentious name for a picturesque waterside hotel on a small scale, inviting as to rooms, food, refectory and garden. This is one of those oases of comfort and quality mentioned from time to time as island essentials which should be multiplied by the score.

Still farther south along the Playa road is the Country Club, and back of it on higher ground the Correctional School—*Escuela Correccional*—an institution in which the island takes much pride. This is a reform institution for the confinement, instruction, discipline and industrial training of delinquent youths. Only those under sixteen years of age are admitted, and their terms of confinement end when they reach the age of twenty-one. The boys are given academic instruction and also agricultural and industrial training on the farm and in the shops of the school. Recreation and amusement are provided, an athletic field for military drill and exercise is a valued feature, and the musical abilities are cultivated.

It is an illuminating commentary upon island conditions that not only does residence in the school carry no odium to the boys thereafter, but that youngsters seek the privilege of confinement, as an opportunity to be well housed and fed, and well taught in something that will be of value. Indeed, boys are commonly known to seek admission by the committing of some small offense which will gain that reward for them, and to falsify their age so as to confront no barrier to their aspirations. The institution is one of the best expressions of island purpose and accomplishment.

From the waterfront activities of the Playa to the residential and business center of Mayagüez is but a short mile eastward. Mayagüez is not one of the older cities of the island, its founding dating back only to 1760. Its industries and the fertility of the surrounding country have caused it to register rapid growth of late years, so that it has become the third largest city of the island, even now undergoing great activity in the erection of new homes. New real estate subdivisions manifest almost as much activity in rapid house construction as their prototypes in the continental North.

Such new housing does not appear considerably to take the form of business construction. But moderate-cost private homes and small apartment buildings are multiplying to meet the obvious need of a too-crowded city. Additional to this, the countryside near by now and then offers a new mansion to view, an elaborate residence on a pretentious estate with the proportions and characteristics of a veritable castle, grandiose evidence of the growth of new fortunes from island industries. They are purely Puerto Rican, such fortunes, or Spanish in any event, built upon the earnings of the lace industry which centers at Mayagüez, the sugar plantations, or such public utilities as local magnates still control.

Mayagüez has suffered perhaps no more and no less than other cities by the disasters with which Nature has buffeted Puerto Rico through the centuries. But the memories of destruction here are more recent than some others, and the city becomes a natural citation in that unhappy record. For this reason I make place here for a recounting of what such tragic events can mean to a city that has suffered and an island that has endured.

Statistics seem to show that an earthquake or a hurricane of major proportions has been registered in the island at average intervals of immunity of about eleven years through the entire period recorded in the annals. No such catastrophe was ever completely island-wide. Sometimes the blow might fall on a city of the north coast, with knowledge that such a thing had come to pass hardly reaching either south or westward. This during the centuries of sparser settlement and the absence of ready communication. Relief and recovery measures then had to be improvised by each community for its own sufferers. We can hardly imagine, now, the distress that such isolation must have brought.

The earthquake and the hurricane have no relationship that makes them arrive together for a double blow. Earthquakes that are mere tremors are no novelty, but the memory of the most recent one of major proportions is still so vivid that the first signal of *el temblor* becomes ample reason for fear, and hasty search for a place of safety. The hurricane, as an institution, is mercifully limited by the season. Late summer and early fall establish the limits and, indeed, the lively terror of the hurricane is over by the end of September.

It was on October 11, 1918, that the most memorable disaster occurred at Mayagüez. An earthquake and a tidal wave joined forces without warning to assail the unfortunate city together, with a resulting heavy loss of life and the destruction of many buildings. Calle Mendez Vigo—Mendez Vigo Street —is the principal thoroughfare, both business and residential, that leads from the Playa up to the heart of the city. The rising grade is but slight. A friend of mine who underwent that day's terrors declares even now that he hopes never again to see that city of his youth. He saw the rolling waters of the ocean rise above the shoreline and plunge northward into the city, engulfing factories, offices, homes and business houses in a resistless flood, drowning men, women and children by the score. The resistless waves of the ocean seemed to join the earthquake waves of the undulating earth, changing masonry walls and roofs into ruined heaps of rubbish. He heard the outcry of little children, engulfed with their fathers and their mothers: "The sea! The sea!" they cried. He remembers that picture of destruction too vividly.

Communications were destroyed so that neither Mayagüez nor the neighboring towns and villages of the west could learn what might have happened elsewhere in the island. My friend was one of a small group of men designated to attempt the overland journey eastward, to carry the news of the tragedy to the capital. The party started as soon as possible the same day, after the severest of the earthquake shocks ceased. Roads were blockaded by fallen trees and telephone and telegraph wires. The footpaths through the mountains were no more passable than were the highways.

It was a toilsome journey as long as daylight lasted, and worse when night came. Finally reaching a region where the strength of the earthquake had spent itself, they commandeered help and saddle-horses, and under forced speed made their way into San Juan. The capital knew little more than that there had been a severe earthquake and storm in the west end of the island, and that all communications were interrupted. The authorities at the capital, which, by comparison, was all but uninjured, were waiting until morning to send out parties to report conditions and restore the wires. The men from Mayagüez made their way straight to the Governor's palace at three o'clock in the morning, exhausted and desperate, to tell the pitiful story. Mayagüez no more than the rest of the island can forget that event.

With the facts once known, relief funds and Red Cross help flowed into the island from the United States, and there was another tidal wave of sympathy to assuage the grief and suffering that had been imposed by Nature.

While the potentialities of destruction by earthquake or hurricane are the greater as population and industry increase, such hazards are lessening through the extension of knowledge which may temper the worst of the tragedies. It has become increasingly certain that the hurricanes, at least, have their breeding-place east of the Caribbean in the vast expanse of the tropical Atlantic. The northeastern coast of South America, the island chain of the Lesser Antilles, and the waters still to the eastward provide a series of meteorological reports from every quarter, transmitted regularly and mapped by the cooperating weather-bureaus, so that there is advance warning of the assembling of the winds and their emergence for attack.

These storms move with all but invariable consistency, so that their course can be forecast. This enables official meteorologists to determine the direction of movement and to give ample warning of the approach of the hurricane throughout the waters and coasts of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. When hurricane warnings are issued, perhaps twelve hours or twenty-four or thirty-six before the calculated arrival of the storm, a forecast that can be precise almost to the hour, the procedure is as definite as would be the preparation of gas-masks against an enemy's raid by airplane in an outbreak of war.

Every one in the area that is threatened, is expected to remain at home, in the place of greatest safety, where one belongs. Outside shutters provided for windows and doors are in many instances nailed fast for greater security. Houses are tightened up and actually anchored to resist a hurricane wind capable of rending walls apart as it literally explodes them under vacuum pressure. There is no minimizing the terror. It is a pitiful strain upon the courage and the nerves of those who wait for the impending hour, with little to do and no sure way to avert the danger while waiting. The hour must come when there will be flying roofs in the air, houses destroyed, lives lost, and helpless men, women, and children uncovered to the elements.

Almost exactly ten years from the October hurricane of 1918 came another one to Mayagüez, on the thirteenth of September, 1928—again the loss of life, the ruining of homes and industries, and the destruction of the growing crops. The overwhelming details of this greatest of all the island's storms are related in a summary of Governor Towner's administration on an earlier page. It is remembered as the very culmination of tragedy. There is a distinction to claim for this particular San Felipe hurricane, which was more nearly island-wide than most such visitations. According to the authorities of the United States Weather Bureau in San Juan, this hurricane, at its height, was the strongest wind ever recorded on the face of the earth. The anemometer broke just as the arrow on its dial showed the velocity of 160 miles an hour for a one-minute period. Since San Juan was not at the storm center, but some thirty miles at one side, experts calculate that the wind reached the speed of 200 miles an hour in the areas traversed by the vortex of the hurricane.

Sugar-cane, pineapples, tobacco and bananas have the merciful quality in tropical agriculture that they renew themselves in bearing by plantage for the next year when the hurricane has passed, even though the field may be bare and the current year's work obliterated. But such tree-crops as coffee, oranges, grapefruit, cocoanuts, and others that require years of patience, investment and work to bring them into bearing, when destroyed by hurricanes are destroyed forever until a slow new tree growth can reach maturity and replace the old. That is the continuing distress of those who meet the storm and the poverty.

Mercifully again, however, if hurricanes come they do not cover the whole of the island in the same single march of destruction. Immunities are granted, even by the storms. The coffee trees of one area may be literally pulled up by the roots, with the next valley all but missed by the furies of the wind. And vegetation grows in renewal under tropical conditions more rapidly than otherwhere. A majestic avenue of royal palms may meet utter destruction, and in five years appear as stately as before in the same place. Generous Nature has her own processes of healing, and Puerto Rico shares the bounty.

Throughout Puerto Rico, Mayagüez is recognized as the center of the activities of the fancy needlework and embroidery industry. Assuredly every department store in the United States and most of its patrons must know Puerto Rican embroidery by its name and its beauty. The industry began in the humblest way—a household industry it was, in the beginning—but it has long since passed beyond such limitations.

It is not recorded whether some one saw the vision of what might occur. Travelers halting by some wayside hut in the mountains must have bought dainty handkerchiefs, and other bits of drawnwork done so deftly by the women and girls, until perhaps the business habit developed to go about the countryside buying the household products and sending them to the shops for resale. Perhaps the peasant women of the west end of the island were more deft and dainty in such work than were their sisters elsewhere. Mayagüez shops used to carry small supplies of such work, and San Juan stores, where tourists were more numerous, began to follow the example. Then the word of a new merchandise opportunity must have reached the United States, and a business was born. What was first a household art has become an established industry of a volume second only to that of sugar.

Mayagüez factories do not look like factories in the familiar pattern of the continental North. Many of them are converted residences, while even those built for factory purpose, usually only one story in height, have no outside show of power plant and shipping facilities that in other enterprises would seem a first requisite. The smallest of these factories may employ no more than two or three score girls in the various departments of underwear, handkerchiefs, etc. The largest of them numbers its employees in the hundreds. They are perfectly lighted, as is necessary for such exacting work. Fresh air is a ready commonplace in the tropics, and these factories are open to every breeze.

The work is highly specialized. Some factories produce nothing but handkerchiefs, and others nothing but lingerie of one grade or one garment. The drawing of threads in the drawn-work linen, the hand-embroidery of initials, the ornamental stitching in the garments, or the binding of handkerchief edges —every step in all these things is done in sequence with the precision of an automobile assembly line.

The most striking fact that impresses the observer is that this industry is dependent currently upon New York and other wholesale houses rather than upon any local control except in the factory operations. Each year's new designs are painted with care on transparent paper, in the exact colors and in the dimensions that will finally be embroidered. These designs are made for submission in great number by those whose specialty it is, and they are approved or disapproved by the supervising artist in the factory, who may be the owner. The patterns that survive the selecting process are sent to New York for approval there. The New York wholesale house thereupon brings its own taste and judgment to bear, selecting finally the patterns and designs which it will offer to its own trade in the finished product a few months later.

Also, the New York house may have its own artists whose designs are added to the Puerto Rican offerings. The New York house determines how many dozens or hundreds of dozens of each selected design it will order. Linen in the bolt is then shipped by the New York house to the Puerto Rican factory, with the designs chosen and the embroidery floss in the quantity required, accompanying. New York, therefore, finances the order with the materials that are needed, retaining ownership of the goods. The Puerto Rican factory executes the work to its completion, and reships the finished product back to New York.

An interesting consequence of this trade routine is that the visitor in Mayagüez cannot easily buy such handkerchiefs or underwear in the factory nor, indeed, in the shops of Mayagüez, unless the shop has ordered from New York and bought Puerto Rican needlework for its regular trade. No Puerto Rican factory in Mayagüez has seemed to think it worth while to manufacture wares for the Mayagüez trade. San Juan merchants carry Puerto Rican needlework, but that merchandise has traveled back and forth to New York before it can be sold to them for their own tourist customers to buy. The handwork done in the several mission schools in various cities becomes almost the sole exception.

It is not surprising that Mayagüez takes pride in the substantial development of the needlework industry. The export value of the output of this industry for the calendar year of 1936 was $20,889,000, of which $669,000 represented work done on silk. The exports for the single month of December, 1936, amounted to $2,121,000. Sugar approximated four times as much, but tobacco, the third industry, amounted to less than half the needlework total, fruits to a little more than ten percent of the needlework figure, and rum a million dollars still less.

This substantial activity in what had once been reckoned a mere household art has additional interest in the fact that it is almost entirely under the direction and management of women—Puerto Rican women, not continental Americans. Business women have directed the management, built the factories, and conducted the enterprises of the largest volume, under their own names. If they do not deserve all or most of the credit, they have certainly obscured the importance of their husbands in the part they play.

Mayagüez points with pride to the favor it enjoys as the site of various Federal and insular activities of exceptional importance. This pride begins with the school system of Mayagüez, one of the earliest to advance in a generous way. This city is the site of the first school building built in Puerto Rico under the sovereignty of the United States, the Farragut School. It has been followed by a succession of excellent modern school buildings, all the way from primary and grade schools up to the high school. Private schools, which are presumptively of standards equal to the public schools or better, as well as church schools, Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and others, are also available to the young people of the city.

Beyond this, however, Mayagüez is especially favored in that it is the location of one division of the University of Puerto Rico. This institution, like several of the State universities in the continental United States, is divided between two widely separated locations. The College of Liberal Arts and the kindred undergraduate and postgraduate schools occupy a spacious campus and an impressive equipment of modern buildings in Rio Piedras, a suburb of the capital. The College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, which includes a somewhat wider field of education than the name might indicate, is also the Architecture, Engineering and General Science Division of the University, occupying spacious buildings, a large campus, and an experimental farm of its own just outside the city of Mayagüez.

A part of the permanent equipment of the college campus is its athletic field, equipped with a capacious concrete grandstand. Football, baseball, and other games familiar as collegiate sports in the United States are vigorously played by the students. Track and field athletics are also included in the intramural activities, and competitive games are exchanged with the other department of the University at Rio Piedras and two or three other schools that maintain rival teams.

This same athletic field is a drill-ground for the students. Like the other State universities organized under the Morrill Act, the University receives Federal funds for the maintenance of collegiate work, on condition that a student military corps shall be maintained. The Federal Government assigns an army officer as a member of the faculty to organize and direct the military training, as Commandant of the corps. This college, which overlooks Mayagüez from its picturesque wooded hilltop, is regarded as the proudest possession of the city.

Immediately adjoining the college grounds on the hilltop back of Mayagüez, and with its similar stately avenue of royal palms as a driveway from the common entrance, stands another institution of distinguished value and importance to the whole island. This is the Puerto Rico Agricultural Experiment Station of the United States Department of Agriculture, established by Federal authority with Federal funds, administered from the office of the Secretary of Agriculture in Washington, and in detail under the guidance and authority of Atherton Lee as resident director for the last several years. National though it is, location and opportunity make it manifestly of special consequence to Puerto Rico and secondarily to our other tropical and subtropical areas, continental or insular. The scope of its research and service has virtually no limit. Seldom does an institution more highly deserve the good-will and gratitude of the people in whose interest it is conducted. The helpful findings of this Station are also to the advantage of mankind elsewhere, and Puerto Rico reciprocally obtains such available facts and guidance in the field of tropical agriculture as may be found anywhere in the world.

The west end of the island, with its confusion of wooded mountains and tangled valleys, is a region sufficiently localized to regard itself as a unit, with Mayagüez figuring as the local metropolis of everything from Aguadilla in the north to Guanica in the south. Socially they exchange hospitality throughout a lively season of gaiety, since distances are not forbidding. From Aguadilla, the location of the memorial fountain which commemorates the near-by first landing of Columbus for the fresh water his ships required, through Aguada, Añasco, Las Marias, Maricao, Hormigueros, San German, Cabo Rojo, and Lajas on various connecting highways, to Guanica, first landing-place of Ponce de Leon and first landing of the Americans 390 years later, it is a picturesque traverse of old towns.

San German, indeed, is the town where one finds the famous ruin of the chapel of the ancient convent of Santo Domingo, alleged to be the oldest church in the island, and dating far back into the sixteenth century. One of the more valued educational institutions of the island is the Polytechnic Institute at San German, where high school and junior college courses are offered to a large body of students. The campus and buildings on a substantial scale, just outside the town, were provided in part by endowments from the Carnegie Foundation. Not far from there, in the neighboring village of Hormigueros, is the Puerto Rican shrine that is sought for miraculous healing—The Hermitage of Our Lady of Montserrat—dating from 1640.

Great areas of coast land and valleys throughout this fertile region are intensively cultivated in the sugar industry. Some small mills still grind independently in the continuation of fortunes and families long established, and others are operated on a large scale as newer corporation developments. At Guanica one comes upon the greatest operating unit of the entire industry in the island, the Guanica *Central*. The South Porto Rico Sugar Company maintains its largest mills here, with many miles of private railway extending through its plantations and those operated in affiliation with it.

Around the picturesque bay and harbor of Guanica where in turn the Spanish and the Americans made their historic landings, one catches the sweetish fragrance of a cane-mill and sees the smoke-stacks with their column of smoke from burning *bagasse*—the squeezed cane residue—rising to the skies of tropic blue. Acres of mills, an elaborate equipment of management buildings, laboratories and offices, a large company store, a clubhouse for the technical and management staff, dozens of attractive dwellings for their families, hundreds of houses in uniform yellow paint for the permanently employed labor of the plant, for which a hospital and school are maintained, and a landscape all around from which puffing little locomotives bring the cane from field to mill and direct shipment to the ports of the continental United States—these are the characteristics of such a commanding enterprise.

Everything is left behind except the fragrance, the feather of rising smoke and the glittering waters of the bay where the sugar fleet comes and goes, as one's vehicle turns away from the great industrial enterprise into miles of shaded highway, a very tunnel of flaming foliage through miles of winding avenues where the *arbol flamboyant* displays its glories.

Let it be said, however, as a proof of present frankness and accuracy, that the traveler who confines his Puerto Rican journey to the winter season will not see the flamboyant in full color. By the first of May there should be a few trees in favored localities that show the beginning of foliage coloration as a harbinger of what is to follow. As the season advances the glories become richer and the brilliant leafage more profuse. June heightens the effect, and July and August are months of colorful glory throughout the island, quite beyond the power of words to convey. Then there begins a gradual passing of this theatrical, decorative scheme of Nature, and before the new tourist season comes around the fires of the flamboyant are extinguished again.

The tourist may buy garish postcards that endeavor to reproduce a mile-long avenue of crimson flame, or even paintings by local artists who endeavor to catch the spirit of the blooming fire. But no more. Perhaps Nature arranges it thus so that the Puerto Ricans themselves shall be almost solely the possessors of this particular island wealth. No one else may possess it; no stranger who will not reverse his calendar and spend a summer in the island.

Even the trees themselves may become confused in their identity. The flamboyant carries a large, heavy seed-pod as its fruit, and these pods at the time of the tourist season hang from every branch and rustle heavily in the wind as they dry. Trees of somewhat similar aspect in all but color are planted along many of the island roads, smaller trees with smaller seed-pods, and an easier, softer rustle that sounds like whispered conversation as the traveler drives down the tunnel of shade. "Women's tongues" these trees are called, because in them the Puerto Ricans hear the unceasing whispered chatter of the gossiping trees. Let them not be confused with the flamboyant.

An island where hurricane disaster had just destroyed a whole seasonal year of industry, piling such misfortune upon all the customary poverty of the people, followed by the wreckage "the depression" brought, with the population normally excessive in the best of times driven into the very depths of idleness and hunger, it is not strange that Puerto Rico became the most grievous example of destitution and need under the American flag. The west end of the island was one of the units of greatest suffering, and here, therefore, some of the more conspicuous examples occur of effective work in the cause of relief.

In the mountains above Las Marias the Puerto Rican equivalents of the CCC have been organized and administered with a degree of success that speaks well for Puerto Rican rehabilitation. Road and park building, forestation on a considerable scale, the control of soil erosion, the creation of wilderness parks, a practical teaching of self-reliance, and the utilization of resources right at hand—such has been the remedial course of public relief measures.

It is a fair observation, based on the visible evidences and on the statements of those engrossed in the work, that young Puerto Ricans respond heartily and efficiently to the opportunities given them under such circumstances; that they welcome the chance to support themselves and learn while they are doing so, the chance to build with their own efforts, properly guided, such valuable and interesting works of permanent merit, taking pride in the part they play, and rising to the additional responsibility that goes with each step in authority. The camps of young men among the mountains, and the roads that lead to them by hill and valley, are examples to encourage those who have thought the island problems a challenge without a solution.

The high observation platform back of Maricao, to which one climbs some two hundred steps far above the hilltops, built by the engineers and labor of Puerto Rican CCC camps, has both realism and symbolism in it. From that height one may see Mayagüez to the west, with the black island of ancient Hispaniola just beyond the horizon line. Southward over the range and the coasts one may look far out upon the Spanish Main and onward over the Caribbean toward the South American coasts and the backward republics. Northward the observer looks beyond other ranges and sees the blue Atlantic, knowing that the North American shores are beyond, and the liberties that are American. More and more, the thinking people of Puerto Rico hope that their fixed destiny may be privileged to lie with the North.

Chapter XIII

Finishing the Grand Tour

It was my good fortune to have several days, in one of my intensive studies of the west and south of the island, in quiet company with a Puerto Rican friend of purest blood and widest opportunity in his education and his contacts. Himself, his parents, and his grandparents born in the island, he yielded to no one in his devotion to its natural beauties, its fruitfulness, its opportunities, and its people. But also he was a realist. He never permitted his sentimental reactions and his romantic heart to blind him to the truth about the Spanish regime. He was a boy of twelve or thirteen years, living at Mayagüez, his father a Spanish civil official there, when the events of 1898 took place. We were driving together among those very towns and through the shadowed streets of Guanica on the day when he told me what he remembered of the American operations in that sector.

When word came that the American forces had landed at Guanica, the local commander of the Spanish forces stationed at Mayagüez made contact by telegraph with his commander at Ponce and prepared to defend the west coast metropolis. Stories were hastily fabricated with which to alarm the residents, as to what horrors would follow if once the invaders should be victorious. Desperate resistance to the end was enjoined upon the soldiers, and flight was counseled to the civil population. Warnings would be sounded, so that upon a moment's notice the exodus could begin. It was recommended urgently to avoid the coast highways which might be bombarded from the sea, or might be occupied by landing parties who would intercept the fugitives and put them to the sword. The preferential course was to aim inland, keeping to the mountain valleys, working gradually eastward between and across the ranges to a final shelter in the heart of the island, where invaders could never come. When one realizes that not even yet has there been built an interior east-west highway the full length of the island, because of the tremendous difficulties of the terrain, and that even yet Mayagüez is reached most readily only by choice between the north coast and the south coast lines, the folly of this extravagant counsel can be recognized.

The American forces under Brigadier-General Theodore Schwan advanced northwestward from Guanica toward Mayagüez before the date of the armistice, dislodging the defenders without much difficulty, and causing the withdrawal of all Spanish troops to distant destinations. An engagement with small loss took place near Hormigueros on August 10. Under this threat of continuing advance a large party of fugitives from the adjacent towns started eastward, aiming to reach Adjuntas or Utuado, with a safe hiding-place somewhere on the way to San Juan. In those days there was nothing but footpaths through the mountains. My friend is still resentful over the suffering of men, women and children whom he knew, who attempted that flight in desperate fear of the oncoming "monsters of the North." Fortunately the armistice was signed only two days later, and most of the fugitives were homeward bound within another day or two.

My friend and two companions of similar age—they must have been adventurous youngsters—learning in Mayagüez the night before that the battle of August 10 would be fought near Hormigueros, only five or six miles away, aimed straight for the battlefield as fast as they could trudge. Fortunately for them they took cover on a hilltop, overlooking cane-fields, wooded hillsides, and the outskirts of the village, not actually between the lines, but just as near to a real battlefield as any observer might wish to be.

Hour after hour they underwent the excitement and saw the details of an engagement, the Spanish forces in the hasty entrenchments from which they were ultimately driven, the advancing Americans in open order working with clocklike effectiveness, and finally the Spanish retreat and the uninterrupted American advance. Their long day was well ended when they reached home at Mayagüez, exhausted, but thrilled by their experiences, to meet the discipline they deserved for having left their families uninformed through the day of alarm.

"Don't let any one mislead you," my friend enjoined, "by some romantic tale of the simple glories and picturesque life under the Spanish regime. I had it through childhood, my father and his household, my grandfather and his household, went through it all. Spanish though we were in origin, we were colonists to the island, and loyal Puerto Ricans, as well as loyal to Mother Spain. The official plums of Puerto Rico, ripe or unripe, were plucked here and eaten in Spain. Postmasters, tax-gatherers, and officials in smaller affairs, were appointed from Spain to feather their nests by whatever process they could devise, and go back to Spain with their plunder.

"Those who were aiming to be true Puerto Ricans had little hope of a future prosperity. Liberty was a word that meant nothing except in hope. One of my uncles was subjected to torture and long imprisonment because he sought to obtain larger grants of liberty for the people of Puerto Rico. This island is to-day—now—possessed of a greater degree of liberty than any other land that is or ever was under Spanish authority. No republic of Central America or South America enjoys any greater fraction of the actual freedom of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, of freedom to come and go, to speak or write, to assemble unchallenged and to prosper, than we now possess.

"No freedom that we could maintain by any process, outside the folds of the American flag, could possibly equal what we now have under the protection of that flag. I shall be glad when we demonstrate our greater capacity to make use of our freedom and enjoy it more understandingly. Please carry the message that we who know the past and present here are proud to enjoy our freedom in identity with our fellow-citizens of the North."

The geography of Puerto Rico is such that the development of settlement and industrial life was naturally regional. The difficulty of distant communication and ready access was the more easily overcome in this manner. The west end of the island developed largely as a regional unit, with Mayagüez the local metropolis, because the towns were near enough together to be tributaries of one another for purposes of trade and travel.

A similar circumstance made the south coast towns and cities a segregated group, with Ponce as their metropolis. From Guanica and Yauco eastward to Guayama and Arroyo, Ponce was the seat of social, commercial and agricultural life. The mountain slopes that mark the northern horizon had replenished the richness of the coastal plain and foothills through countless ages of soil erosion and Nature's fertilization. That coast and the terraces which led back to the foothills became a veritable garden of richness, the source of sugar fortunes, then and now among the largest in all Puerto Rico. The city of Ponce grew rich and populous as the second port of the island. High mountain lands just to the north were easily accessible as country homes, to moderate the discomforts of the tropic year. These living and trade conditions are but little changed.

One of the factors of appeal to the traveler who halts at Ponce is the existence of a hotel where neither the "quaint" nor the comfortable has been unduly sacrificed. A hotel with a background tradition of its own, a management with a picturesque personality, and the essentials of restaurant and bedchamber measurably provided, the Melia is a Puerto Rican landmark which permits mention with entire disregard of the inevitable free advertising. The captious might ask why its bedchambers and baths are not still more modern, but the grateful traveler dismisses such caviling, to recall the *patio* shaded by an arbor expanse of flowering vines over the inviting restaurant tables, the excellent food, and the true hospitality and civility of service.

In that other earlier period, the local sugar barons went to Spain for their holidays and, indeed, in large measure the richer of them were absentee landlords, Spanish from the start, and with no substantial interest in the island except their possessions and their profits. It is a change of detail rather than of underlying circumstance that in large measure corporation stockholders in the United States have succeeded to the status of absentee individual owners.

Ponce shares the Puerto Rican habit of local pride. Not only does it have its fixed position as second in population and second in trade. Besides that, it takes pride in the part it has always played in the aspiration for a greater measure of liberty. The island assembly of 1887, in Ponce, to demand autonomy while still loyal to Spain, cruelly suppressed as it was, is still a vivid memory there and *soi disant* leaders, even of these days, more than once have found easy magic in the name and spirit of the city when they sought followers for some misguided political adventure.

Local pride is just as earnest when residents speak of its business and commercial developments as when they recall its part in political affairs. They point with proper emphasis to the development of a great port which began as a mere landing-place at the Playa, with all the attendant industrial and commercial activity that this implies. They take satisfaction in the growth of the city, which has continued commercially and residentially in substantial measure long before and ever since the American occupation. Residential suburbs of much beauty have developed as the outskirts of the city, and there is an independent initiative and spirit manifested in many ways that remind one of an ancient city turned lively in a new incarnation.

The people of Ponce like to regard their city as a commercial metropolis, with its history and its color incidental, in contrast with San Juan as the insular capital with all the characteristics of capital cities, where politics and officialdom rule everything. They point with pride to their plazas and their historic structures, they smile with an amused pride of their own at the rainbow-painted fire-department which has been every visitor's delight, just as it is to-day, for half a century or more. But always they come back to the growth of industry and trade, the factors of local prosperity that enrich the south coast and make Ponce an outstanding commercial capital.

In this Grand Tour of the island, whether by printed paragraphs or by the embodied traveler, the military highway itself angles northeasterly from Ponce to San Juan. Another highway of like excellence, built nearly fifty years later, without mountain ranges to overcome and without the military purpose that actuated the earlier of such works, extends from Ponce eastward along the very coast, through miles of sugar-cane and past many sugar *centrals* via Santa Isabel and Salinas to Guayama.

By the first of these routes one soon reaches Juana Diaz, and from here a diversion northward toward Villalba brings the traveler to a mountain roadway scrambling into high altitudes toward one of those remote inns such as have drawn enthusiastic comment on other pages. The improved highway via the Guayabal irrigation project and reservoir is itself a winding way into the mountains, but the road that turns from it to the left after one reaches the foothills is hardly more than something to climb, by way of heavy grades, sharp curves and rough going. One might doubt it to lead anywhere except for infrequent roadside signs to indicate the entrance to an unseen ranch. "Finca Anna Josefa de Mike Poggio" appears as a legible signpost at kilometer one, and "Hotel El Semil de Phil L. Coffin, Jr." at kilometer three, encouraging one to continue climbing until El Semil is actually at hand.

Two resourceful young men from New Jersey, brothers whose law practise and the readjustment of a great Puerto Rican estate, which had to be re-financed and reorganized, pitchforked them into the obligations and possibilities of a great plantation, grant hospitality at El Semil Hotel. The place is not easy to reach, and it provides for but few guests at a time, but the comforts and more than comforts are complete. Picturesque surroundings, mountain streams, a bountiful table, and night air so chill that open fires and blanketed beds are welcome, justify the halt and make the hospitality a pleasure to the recipients. Mountain conditions reached thus afford a spectacle of life in the interior of Puerto Rico quite unrealized by the tourist who sticks to the traveled routes.

Between Coamo, on the military highway, and Santa Isabel on the coastline east of Ponce, there is another still more compelling halt to be made at Coamo Springs. In the foothills of the range stands the most famous resort of any kind in all the island, famous through centuries where others are but new. Perhaps exhaustive research for a university graduate degree in history may some day separate the truth from the traditions, but nothing certain now appears to establish datings and the earlier facts.

It is easy to assume, as is done, that the healing waters of Coamo Baños were the basis of the rumor which led Ponce de Leon to seek the Fountain of Youth. The directions given must have been confusing, since his route in that search led him to Florida instead of southern Puerto Rico. It is averred, however, that his son Diego bathed in the springs of Coamo, and with still further emphasis that the waters were sought for their health-giving qualities from the earliest days of the Spanish conquest. It seems to be authenticated that the springs were visited by rich colonials from all the northern coasts of South

America and the circuit of the Caribbean in summer-time, and likewise by Cubans who found health in the waters, as well as even some few winter travelers from the United States at least a century ago.

The present buildings were erected in 1857 as the successors of more primitive structures. The place has been held under the same ownership and its family ramifications through all those years, and from a period long before. Fortunately there has been no mistaken effort on the part of this old Spanish household to modify the atmosphere and the color of the place, even though the surrounding park has undergone some improvements, and the garage has superseded the stables. In aspect, as one approaches the hotel, it is a long and narrow two-story building with a wide, encircling veranda upon which the guest rooms open, as they do also on the single interior corridor. The spirit of the place is one of restful idleness in tropic calm. There are no glazed windows, but only slatted shutters, within and without. The dining-room is a detached building, more newly built, but still Spanish in style and decoration, and the recreation kiosk for refreshment and dancing is modern. Perhaps forty or fifty guests can find housing and hospitality at one time, besides those transient wayfarers who detour for luncheon or dinner.

Only by a sufficient stay to fall into the placid life will one fully appreciate the beauties and the comforts. Time seems to halt. The combination of stairs and ramps that lead one far down the hill-slope from hotel to spring-house becomes a familiar path in early morning, the heat of midday, or evening shade. Fragmentary bits of ruin, walls of an earlier day, and superseded conduits and drains make the views from the windows during this sheltered descent always interesting.

Parts of the tropical gardening of a past century seem neglected, and one feels that there is a letting-in of the jungle in the encroaching trees and vines. The exposed hillsides of the small canyon down which the long descent leads one drip with the steaming percolation which seems to exude everywhere. With the lush vegetation that might ordinarily overgrow the hillsides and the surroundings supplemented by the saturating hot water which fills the earth, it is not surprising that this beautiful, half-neglected tropical garden of the past should become enriched beyond all comparisons.

Once in the gallery below, one finds the simplest of equipment and simplest of plumbing, but all of scrupulous cleanliness and highly fitting to the tradition and the circumstances. There is a swimming-pool, newly built in recent years. But other than that the vaulted gallery and the long succession of bathrooms have the aspect of ageless time. The construction is all of stone, tile, concrete and cement. A smiling attendant wordlessly ushers bathers to the open bathroom doors, allocating them singly or in couples to the single or double rooms, as she guesses their domestic status.

Bathrooms are bare except for towels and couches of cane. The tubs are sunken below the floor level, some single and some in pairs, side by side or head to head, with stone stair-steps for descent into them. The rooms are spacious and the tubs huge, but no one need restrict himself in the use of water. It comes hot from the hillsides as Nature delivers it, without further heating, and, indeed, with cold water dilution welcomed by many.

The water flows into the tub from hot or cold faucets in such quantity as would appal an American landlord, and the escape-pipe is closed by a wooden plug as big as a man's wrist, fastened by a chain that would hold a prisoner. Those bathtub plugs were still exactly as we remembered them from our first visit to Coamo Baños in 1898, and I felt as if research might even discover carved initials in their surfaces, recording the identities of a century of visitors.

When I mention that the bounteous hot water granted by Nature to the Coamo bathtubs is the only hot water provided in any bathroom of all Puerto Rico except by a few opulent

Americans who have built their own homes, and one or two new hotels in the capital, it will be understood why the visitor plods so happily down to this spring-house for free ablutions from one to three times a day. The water is characteristically sulphuric, with a large variety of other approved salts and sulphates. The place is a noteworthy example of quaint comfort without undue pretension, at a reasonable cost. The eternal fear which faithful visitors commonly admit is that something will be done, sometime, to convert the ancient hostelry into a modern hotel, and thereby ruin its fixed position as a traveler's delight.

So much for Coamo. Each other unified region of Puerto Rico, and each in its own way, might be just as readily observed as a unity. The north coast cities, and the agricultural developments upon which the cities rest from Bayamon westward to Aguadilla, with Arecibo as the intervening town of largest importance, would be one of these. The interior of the island, beginning with Caguas as an eastern limitation and carrying westward to Lares, would be another. This latter includes a large part of the mountainous areas. It is reached from the south by way of the military highway and the intersecting highways that diverge northward. Cayey, in the valley, where a detachment of the 65th Regiment of United States Infantry has its permanent military post, with barracks, radio towers, and all that pertains, is all but an interior capital and not far from the Governor's summer home in the overlooking mountains.

For an intimate observation of this interior fraction of the island, the traveler on the Grand Tour may find another unique lodgment of quiet comfort and quality at the Treasure Island Camps. Don't ask me how the name came to be chosen for an isolated bungalow resort, deep in the hills at an elevation of 1,500 feet. This Treasure Island is not an island, nor does it suggest piracy or Robert Louis Stevenson. One finds it between Cayey and Cidra, on the highway to Comerio, and again there is a steep private road to the hilltop location and the traveler's delight.

A great open-air refectory of rustic design, inviting for its outlook, the recreations that center there, and the excellence of the table, is the most conspicuous structure. Near by are the half-dozen bungalows that offer individual guest accommodations. They, like the main building, are of Puerto Rican rustic design, grass-thatched and picturesque, but modern as to sanitation, furnishings and comfort.

Here in the heart of the island, in the midst of his own plantation—175 acres of pineapples among other things—Mr. Ellsworth provides generous food and shelter at moderate cost for guests who come and come again. A collegiate New Englander by origin and outlook turned liberal, he is still a young man in his warmth of interest in the present and the future, still an optimistic realist toward the island, the islanders and their possibilities. Only thirty-five miles from San Juan by alternative highways, it is seemingly as remote from capital characteristics as another world—a fitting place from which to dig into island individualities of surrounding industry, agriculture, life, labor—and politics.

Into the steepest of the mountains, the highest elevations, and the most difficult terrain, likewise the most picturesquely beautiful combination of intensive cultivation, dense population, and confusing industrial and agricultural problems, the mountain highways extend to the ultimate footpaths. From Cidra, Aibonito, Barranquitas, Orocovis, Villalba, Adjuntas, Utuado, Jayuya, Cialito and Comerio, for instances, paved highways fight their way around the mountainsides, looking far down upon picturesque villages and cultivated fields where nothing but footways existed even forty years ago.

Coffee groves are renewing themselves on the mountain-slopes where the hurricane of 1928 wrought devastation to one of the greatest industries of the island. Even yet the coffee-planters persist in a hope that their industry and their market may be restored. Pineapple plantations, citrus fruit groves—oranges and grapefruit—tobacco in great areas, and a variety of experimental crops on large or small scale, show the fertility and the resourcefulness of Nature allied with man in such a country.

Even a small map of Puerto Rico may show routes and distances to towns and cities, but it cannot show the infinite difficulties that have been surmounted by the persistent highway developments, the altitudes that have been reached, the hairpin curves and forbidding grades, or the brave and faithful gift of hard labor on the part of the Puerto Ricans themselves that is registered in the works of man. There are grievous faults and characteristics to be overcome among them, as among other people, but no one who wanders afield in the interior and sees what has been accomplished by the mountaineers who have subdued the fields and reared their households will ever again characterize them as lazy folk.

Other things that the small map cannot show, nor the pages of a single book contain, are the interesting village, town and city characteristics of this area. Mountaineers from within these very ranges have inherited the aspiration for learning and for freedom. Poets, artists and patriots have been born there as truly as in the outports around the coast, where the rest of the world seems not so remote. More than one mountain village contains a cherished memorial in honor of some patriot or political leader, or a park or plaza where the name of some historic figure is exalted.

In the very heart of the mountains, overlooked by one of the noteworthy scenic highways, lies the little city of Barranquitas, on either side of a tumbling stream, a town which finds its greatest fame as the birthplace of the statesman and patriot, Luis Muñoz Rivera. In all the history of Puerto Rico no popular leader ever manifested more constructive courage, resourcefulness and loyalty, expressed in works as well as in oratory and in poetry. In this mountain village rest his ashes. The whole island cherishes his name and honors it.

Another regional view of the island in this Grand Tour is the east end, looking toward our neighboring possessions in the Virgin Islands, with their capital at St. Thomas. Two Puerto Rican islands, which are also American, lie off the east coast, the cultivated island of Vieques and the naval base at Culebra. Although these are not in direct line, they may be used readily to break the voyage between Fajardo and St. Thomas. This end of the island regards Humacao and Fajardo as its more important cities, and aims to maintain its local loyalty therein, although the distance to San Juan is short and the highways make those neighboring cities themselves tributary to the capital as virtual suburbs of it. Humacao becomes the port of departure for launches and small boats bound for Vieques, Culebra, and the Virgin Islands. This is the short and broken route to St. Thomas. Once or twice a week from San Juan, there is direct service by a larger vessel between St. Thomas and the capital city.

Like the wider southern coast plains along the Caribbean Sea, westward from Arroyo to Cabo Rojo, the similar areas from Arroyo northeastward form a region of richness in the development of the sugar industry. Great mills continue their circuit around the curvature of the island so that Humacao, Fajardo, and likewise the plains and valleys which follow the curves still westward toward San Juan, manifest the same seasonal program—plantage, growth, cane-cutting, shipment to the mills, grinding, and the manufacture of sugar for the American market. Island refineries carry the process in some instances on through to the production of granulated sugar, and even, in small quantities, to the form of cut loaf.

The northeast coast areas from Humacao and Fajardo to San Juan are so near to the insular capital that they have become almost suburban as the distance shortens. Here, too, are many country estates of city folk, seeking hot weather relief in the hills, and raising oranges, grapefruit, or fancy vegetables for the San Juan market and for export. The vernacular word for farm in the island is *finca,* and such *fincas* have been regarded as a favored place and manner of life for city people wanting "to get away from it all" in the metropolis of San Juan.

Many such, indeed, have been bought and operated by Americans from the continental United States. Some of them have been residents of San Juan by direct migration to the island, tempted by a vague longing to live in the American tropics, with the ease and beauty that this implied. Others who first found themselves in San Juan as American officials have taken up country life in Puerto Rico. With their period of office ending they were reluctant to return to the climatic rigors of the North, and branched out in the conviction that prosperity and happiness lay in the operation of a *finca.*

Conditions have fluctuated with a swinging of the pendulum year after year. Sugar-cane was an industry requiring large capital investment, and operation on a scale beyond the reach of the casual. Fancy vegetables sounded more like hard work, with little allurement to a household seeking ease. Cocoanuts became uncertain. Puerto Rico lost command of the citrus fruit trade after the Texas product became a stiff competitor in season, quality and price. Orange and grapefruit groves in substantial number have been cut down to complete what hurricanes had already done. It has come to be learned at last that the making of fortunes from the soil is a matter of investment, time, patience, marketing problems, intelligence and hard work, just as truly as crop-raising farther north—a manner of life rather than an assurance of wealth.

The map of Puerto Rican highways shows the encircling trunkline around the island, and some half-dozen routes crossing from the Caribbean on the south to the Atlantic Ocean on the north. Some of these cross-island lines seem measurably direct according to the map, but the scale is too small to suggest the countless abrupt curves, the heavy grades, the high ranges and the deep valleys which they traverse. Also it will be observed that some of these cross-island routes show gaps of incompleteness, just as they have stood for many years. The greatest areas shown bare of highways remain that way because highways within them are all but impossible. The valleys and heights which one reaches by automobile on the Grand Tour, however, enable the traveler to look up or down over every geographical feature of the terrain and every pattern of island agriculture.

Chapter XIV

Fortresses to Spare

SO near to the historic past does to-day find itself in San Juan that even the veteran sightseer halts and contemplates. Medieval castles stand elbow to elbow with modernity, no longer either offensive or defensive, however frowning their aspect. Trolley-cars rattle past San Cristobal, golf-links lie under the very shadow of El Morro, with tennis-courts on the dry bed of what was once a moat. They speak to a new people of old Spain and the days that are gone.

These two major fortifications remain in massive masonry to impress the traveler with their suggestion of the ancient days. Nowhere else under the American flag does any such historic landmark confront the tourist. Between them under the cliff that faces the Atlantic lie two other spectacles at which one may peer over the battlements, looking far below to the shelf between the cliff wall and the ocean breakers. One is the ancient cemetery of old San Juan, almost under the walls of El Morro fortress. The other is La Perla, a city of the living, not of the dead, but more grim and ghastly than is its neighbor.

One may visit the old cemetery with much reverence and no horror, but no one can visit La Perla without a shudder and a heartache. I might call it the most wretched slum settlement under the American flag, except for the challenge of Puerto Ricans who reply that, terrible as it is, it is no more wretched than sights that can be shown in every great city, a difference of kind rather than of degree. It may be agreed that the true test of merit and demerit is whether effective effort is under way to abolish such cesspools of uncivilization by the people nearest them, whose instant problem it should be. It is only because La Perla nestles in its sordid filth and poverty right between these two great fortifications, into which millions of pesos must have been poured through the centuries, that it is mentioned casually at the moment.

Farther along the Atlantic Ocean frontage, at the eastern tip where San Juan narrows to become an island, is another fortification dating back to the same early centuries. This is San Geronimo, a minor defense, where the others were of major proportions. Onward from fort to fort, following the brow of the cliff as far east as it extended and thence down to the picturesque outpost, one may follow the line of parapets, rifle-pits, and crumbling masonry with hardly an interruption. San Geronimo has one of the most picturesque sites of all, a rocky isle where shoreline and breakers meet, reached from the island of San Juan on the west by a causeway and bridge, old arches of heavy masonry. It faces northward over the ocean and southward over the lagoon.

In more than one of the historic attacks on San Juan the turbulent inlet from ocean to lagoon entered into the strategy of the invaders and made San Geronimo an outpost of great importance. Invading forces sometimes landed east of the inlet, in what is now the residential suburb of Condado, sometimes where now is the Escambron Beach club and hotel. Escambron, in Spanish, signifies a barren place covered with briers and thistles—a striking reminder of contrast with the gaiety and charm of resort life on that beach to-day. On one occasion the English mounted their guns on what is now the site of the Condado Hotel, and those very cannon, abandoned when the attack failed, became the bronze for the statue of Ponce de Leon now standing in the San José Plaza.

There is a fine legend which ought to be historic if it is not, bearing upon the English siege of 1797. The tale goes that "during this siege the closely pressed inhabitants, led by their brave bishop, formed a mighty procession to ask aid of Saint Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins. Every man, woman and child who could walk bore a lighted taper, and as they marched singing through the streets all the church bells gave them a lusty accompaniment. The English, holding the San Antonio bridge-head, were amazed by all the light and movement in the beleaguered city, and believing that reenforcements had somehow reached San Juan island from across the bay, abandoned what was already becoming an unpromising siege."

Across the rollers of the inlet San Geronimo looks past a succession of charming homes and hotels that line Calle Dr. Bailey K. Ashford through Condado. But San Geronimo is a showplace only from outside. It is privately owned and occupied—which is another story.

Rather more ruinous in what remains, it is still possible to trace the old Spanish lines of fortification along the inner harbor-side of San Juan, past the inlet and its bridges to Condado and Santurce, and thence westward via the shoreline. Thus encircling the island, this takes the traveler once more past La Fortaleza and Casa Blanca, back to El Morro and the Atlantic breakers.

An issue exists, as much between Americans as between Puerto Ricans and Americans, as to what might be done about San Juan—the ancient city—to preserve and perpetuate its historic interest and values, tradition and romance, against the encroachments of "improvement" and "modernization" which are inevitable under the spur of private ownership. The most revolutionary suggestion is—or was—for the United States to take over all San Juan as a National Monument, this in the manner in which specific objects of distinction, or beauty, or historic value have been set aside by authority of Federal law to protect them forever and keep them unimpaired.

To do this with San Juan, say the advocates of the plan, would not only establish full protection against the defacements which the old lines of fortifications around the city must otherwise endure, but would also enable drastic measures to be taken by public authority against the tearing down and rebuilding of the ancient city. The streets that were built for horsemen and pedestrians are too narrow for automobiles and business traffic. The ancient houses that are now the houses of the poor, since San Juan has moved into the suburbs, are congested, unwholesome, and unclean. By power of law and right of service to mankind these places should be evacuated, made surgically clean and deodorized, and occupied only for public uses, and by caretakers, with a selected few houses utilized as typical residences of their respective periods of construction.

Such decision would not mean the evacuation of stores and offices, banks and churches and public buildings, whether already modernized or not. But the taking over of the city—its ancient quarter, at least—and the resolution that all construction hereafter must meet rigorous tests of fitness of architecture, would establish a truly unique monument which would become famous throughout the world. It would be hard to devise anything more conspicuous as an advertising measure to draw tourists to the island than such a spectacular action. An intelligently chosen commission, with adequate resources at command, would convert San Juan into the most striking permanent exhibition of a time long past that one could well imagine. Washington is a city around which the present and future are growing with the past to make it the most beautiful of national capitals. It is in effect a National Monument without enactment. San Juan fits well into the suggested plan as a National Monument of the past.

Of course the opposition to such a radical suggestion was immediate. Those who saw no merit in the project regarded it as a threat to private interests which were entitled to respect. The suggestion was disquieting to such a fine American as the colonel commanding the 65th Regiment of the United States Infantry stationed in Puerto Rico. It seemed to imply that the officers and soldiers of the United States Army who had occupied El Morro, San Cristobal, and the adjacent barracks and quarters as their fortress homes for nearly forty years were to be evicted incontinently! What could be more fitting, the military element asked, than to leave the situation as it presently stands, with an American garrison in those ancient cantonments, with the fortresses and the officers' quarters and the army activities therein making the scene still more picturesque to the travelers who are already welcomed as visitors?

The War Department has its rights and its traditions, and the War Department wished not to be disturbed. Likewise the Interior Department has its aspiration for Puerto Rican welfare, and an imagination that lends brightness to a picturesque plan. It was a remote possibility in any event, but for the time, although measures were introduced in the first session of the 74th Congress to accomplish the purpose in a blaze of glory, it seems now to be pigeonholed in some inactive committee.

As the importance of the new colony of Puerto Rico grew with the sixteenth century thirst for exploration and exploitation of the West Indies, fortifications grew that garnered treasure might be safely hidden and defended. Caparra, the first settlement, was abandoned. It was hardly more than an experimental settlement, almost hidden on the south side of the bay. Ponce de Leon had his home there during the brief intervals between expeditions. A part of the safety against enemy or pirate depredations at Caparra lay in its obscurity. But nothing except impregnable walls and readiness to repel assault or to withstand siege could make San Juan safe.

The Spanish Crown was niggardly, when it came to making remittances. Governors-general through those early centuries besought more funds and more stone walls, more men, more artillery, and more ammunition. But also the Spanish Crown wanted safe harbors for the galleons bearing the treasure of the Incas and all their kinfolk, whenever gold could be wrung from the earth or from the tormented natives of South and Central America. They wanted safe harbor, fortresses for defense, and hiding-places for the loot. So the ancient fortresses of the city, slow as it seemed, grew far more rapidly than did the arts and industries of peace, the development of trade, or the commonplace pursuits of colonial life.

The first pretentious structure associated with the military affairs of the new settlement was Casa Blanca itself, the picturesque mansion built for the family of Ponce de Leon. The first governor had suffered loss through the abandonment of Caparra, and in compensation Charles V granted the site of Casa Blanca to the family of the great adventurer. It was in 1521 that the San Juan settlement was established. For thirteen years Ponce de Leon had had his home in Caparra. In 1523, two years after his death, the original Casa Blanca was built by Garcia Troche, his nephew, for a son who was still a minor, Luis Ponce de Leon. During construction Casa Blanca was planned and regarded as a fortress and arsenal as well as a residence. In 1531 it was ordered that Casa Blanca should cease to be considered a fortress. Thereafter it was a private residence of its famous household until a hundred years later, when the Spanish Crown bought the building and grounds for use as the residence of the officer in command of the military forces on the island.

As public military property it fell in next succession to the United States as the Commandant's residence, a center of historic interest and of charming hospitality. Colonel J. W. Wright, himself an antiquarian and actively sympathetic in the preservation of the history and tradition of the island, has shared with Puerto Ricans of similar impulse in the identifying and marking of historic details and in the erection of fitting tablets to make record of the past.

El Morro was neither first nor second in construction inspired by military needs. La Fortaleza—the Large Fort—was begun in 1533 because of the threat of hostilities from every direction. The new city was growing. By 1529 San Juan had 129 houses, of which Casa Blanca was the grandest; a cathedral had been completed, and the port began to look like rich booty, a prize for some marauder. These disturbing conditions called attention to the necessity of a fortified stronghold, and the Crown authorized the building of a fort. The original plans provided for a "bastion and embattled tower" where ammunition might be stored. A second tower was built at an opposite corner and a connecting gallery was added. Artillery was ordered, "two cannons taking 25-pound balls, three falconets, 20 metal harquebusses, and ten dozen javelins."

This first fortification, begun in 1533, was completed, as then designed, in 1540. As the centuries passed, galleries and rooms were added and it is easy to trace the successive periods of construction by the break of architectural unity. The time came, however, when the military value of La Fortaleza was denied because of its location inside the harbor. One military expert, sent from Spain to inspect the work, declared that "blind men only could have chosen such a place for a fortress." He recommended the erection of a fortress at El Morro—the Knoll—at the harbor entrance.

In the course of years, as El Morro grew, La Fortaleza lost its distinction as a fortress. It never lost its use, however. No fire and no siege could destroy the massive walls. It was enlarged and rebuilt before 1639, virtually to its present form, and since that year it has been used continuously as the governor's residence. Between 1639 and 1846 there is no record of any construction work, but at that later date certain walls were rebuilt and some architectural embellishments were added. It still remains "half palace, half castle," as President Theodore Roosevelt described it after a visit in 1906. Its rooms are spacious, its lines and proportions are effective, its mahogany doors, gates, and ceilings, its stairways and arches, its ancient vertical sundial, its *patios* and gardens, the outlook from its windows and its roofs, all make it a delight in the eyes of those who are privileged to see it with intimacy.

The vine-covered gate leading from the garden to the sea-wall seems to be of the same date as the wall—about 1639. In the tower nearest the garden there is a circular stairway leading from the tower room to the roof. When the structure was planned as a fort the main room in this tower was used as "a lodging room for a person," it being needful to be watchful lest pirates or buccaneers appear without warning in the mouth of the bay. Later the tower room was used as a chapel. An underground passage led from this room to a spring by the San Juan gate, insuring water in case of siege.

This is the only one of the old city gates that has been preserved to this day. It gives entrance through the wall directly under the gardens of La Fortaleza. For two hundred years or more this was the chief entrance to the city of San Juan. It is supposed that another underground passage led all the way to Morro Castle, but its location is uncertain. Underneath the tower is a vault, probably used for the safe-keeping of treasure. Gold enroute from other Spanish colonies to Spain was often hidden here for safety until the pirates and buccaneers supposed it had left the West Indies. Later the treasure could be transferred to Spain without danger of seizure.

Where else under the American flag, asks an imaginative writer, is there an official residence that has four hundred years of history; that contains a throne-room, ancient fortress towers, a treasure-room, secret passageways, dungeons, a spiral stair; and that—if its walls could speak—would tell of the days of early American discovery and conquest, of pirates and buccaneers, pillage and bloodshed, the clanging of swords and the glitter of gold braid and the flash of military adornment; and that would even recount interesting stories of romance and intrigue?

The Puerto Rican El Morro has no monopoly of that name, as visitors to Havana will recall. In the Spanish language any hilltop might be so named, and hilltops are natural locations for fortifications. But El Morro of San Juan is the only such rock fortress which flies the American flag, and houses a United

States army-post with a Puerto Rican Regiment of Infantry. In its grim and ancient dignity, with its massive walls and its traditions, it becomes an exemplar of almost everything that Viollet-le-Duc relates in his "Annals of a Fortress," at least through the period of the four centuries it spans. Obsolete in every aspect of its masonry, vulnerable except for shelter, no factor of consequence to-day in offense or defense, it still looks the part of fortress impregnability in every aspect.

El Morro was begun in 1539 while La Fortaleza was still under construction, begun because the latter was too much palace and too little fortress. Such construction work under the mechanical facilities of that day was of slow progress. Men and money were but slowly available. By 1555, eight bronze cannon had been mounted in their emplacements to command the harbor entrance, but even then other parts of the structure had not been begun. There were bastions to erect where no foundations yet existed, nor would exist until 1584.

The attack on Santo Domingo by Sir Francis Drake in 1591 spurred the Spanish Crown to hasten the unfinished work. Four years later a Spanish fleet bringing treasure from Mexico to Spain was forced by a terrific storm to take shelter in San Juan, with 2,000,000 pesos in gold and silver to be temporarily hidden in La Fortaleza for safe-keeping. At last alarmed by threats of war and weather and successive attack, the Spanish Crown found money for the unfinished El Morro, and 1606 became the date of official completion. However, such a work is never completed. Successive levels were to be built, successive repairs to be made after bombardment and siege, successive reconstruction to meet new methods of war as the modern eighteenth century tactics superseded the obsolete seventeenth century. Garrisons came and went, cisterns and powder magazines, chapels, and soldiers' quarters, dungeons far below and sentry-boxes now long-crumbling came in turn.

It is twenty years since the last hostile gun was fired from an embrasure of El Morro. The story has it that there was one

German ship in San Juan harbor at the time of the entrance of the United States into the World War in 1917. The Germans tried to slip out of the harbor and make their escape. The one gun available in El Morro was loaded and fired, and the shot hit the water ahead of the ship, but the gun kicked itself out of its emplacement, turned over, and went out of action. The Germans believed that they had been fired on by a modern disappearing-gun, and taking caution under such circumstances, the ship turned back into the harbor without further effort at flight.

Electric lights where once there were candles, empty gun-emplacements where once there were bronze cannon, a dry moat where tennis courts and basketball offer sport, a modern lighthouse on the upper level and officers' golf-links between the ancient wall and the ocean—these are the changes that the century has wrought. El Morro is no ruin, for its masonry seems eternal, but it marks the passing of an era as obsolete as its own architecture.

San Cristobal fortress was an afterthought. That is, mention was made of a scheme for defensive fortifications early in the sixteenth century, with the San Cristobal site so marked, but Casa Blanca, La Fortaleza, and El Morro for a hundred years took all the money that was available for fortress construction in one century, so that actual construction of San Cristobal was not started until 1631. It was the sacking of the city by the Dutch in 1622 that demonstrated the inadequacy of the San Juan defenses, and Fort San Cristobal and the City Wall were built to remedy the situation. Following El Morro by a century in the date of design and construction, San Cristobal undertook to utilize some of the new theories of defensive fortifications, and it was regarded as substantially more modern than its picturesque predecessor. Later, in the eighteenth century, Spain expected an attack on San Juan by a British fleet, and the Spanish Colonel Tomas O'Daly of the Royal Engineers was sent to Puerto Rico to reconstruct and enlarge San Cristobal.

He directed this work from 1776 to 1783, the exact period of the American Revolution. Puerto Rico was unmolested, however, until 1797, when the fort shared in the defense of the city against a British attack. That was the last hostile gun fired upon Puerto Rico until the Spanish-American War.

Vauban may well have used San Cristobal in his study of fortifications. It is larger, and to many students more interesting in plan, though less so historically, than El Morro. The forbidding structure of massive masonry faces the ocean from a rocky height at the eastern limits of the old city, so that modern apartment buildings and stores, public structures along Ponce de Leon Avenue and Salvador Brau Avenue, Plaza Colon and the new territorial capitol building are its veritable elbow-to-elbow neighbors. El Morro, at the western tip of the island, is not thus intimately located under the eye of every passer-by.

San Cristobal walls give no suggestion of ruin, standing as sturdily as the hills themselves. The entrance is by way of a picturesque ramp that takes off at heavy grade from a neighborhood of apartment buildings and private residences. The ramp leads to the Caballero battery, beyond which lie deep moats and strong outworks. From this battery on May 10, 1898, was fired the first shot of the Spanish-American War in Puerto Rico, fired at American vessels far offshore and groping to discover Cervera's fleet. Five members of the Spanish garrison were killed by a shell from Sampson's fleet as they stood on the upper ramparts.

With but few changes, Fort San Cristobal remains to-day in the same condition as it was 150 years ago. The City Wall which formerly ran from the fort to the bay was torn down in 1897, with festivities celebrating the expansion of the city. At the same time the series of tunnels connecting Fort San Cristobal with El Morro and La Fortaleza in one direction, and with the outlying batteries of the Escambron, La Marina and San Geronimo, having outlived their usefulness, just before the

- *Above:* Ramp that spans the old moat and leads to the sally-port of San Cristobal.
- *Below:* Showing the thickness of the old fortifications in San Cristobal.

- *Above:* Treasure Island Camp—not an island but a beautiful inland resort among the hills, surrounded by a great pineapple plantation.
- *Below:* Swimming-pool at the recreation center in Luquillo National Forest.

Spanish-American War were filled with debris and closed except as foundations for still newer military construction recommended by modern strategy.

San Cristobal, like El Morro, has its garrison composed of a detachment of the 65th Infantry Regiment, and officers' quarters are likewise maintained within the walls of the old fortress. It occupies a more visible position in the daily life of San Juan than does El Morro, but it is less accessible to the casual visitor. San Cristobal is the center of legend—the Haunted Sentry-box, the Miracle of San Cristobal, and others—but El Morro is the seat of regimental hospitality. Not only are the golf-links and the tennis-courts factors of interest in El Morro, but so also are the evening parties.

It would be difficult to find a more fascinating picture of tropical winter festivity than the stone-floored upper levels of El Morro on the evening of a formal ball, for instance on the night of Army Day, when the officers of the 65th Infantry and the members of the Puerto Rican Chapter of the Military Order of the World War unite to entertain on that picturesque height. Above that level the lighthouse rises. The whole area of the upper levels is gaily lighted. Flags and decorations abound. The military band plays for the dancing. San Juan society at its best, either in white or black-clad formality, or in brilliant uniforms, society folk from all the island, refreshments, music and gaiety, all under a full moon in a cloudless sky—then indeed appears the extreme of contrast between the old world and the new, the old regime and the new, in the once impregnable fortress whose doors now stand wide open.

Chapter XV

Carpetbags and Colonies

THE present-day visitor in Puerto Rico who reads the headlines in the vernacular press, or talks intimately with thoughtful Puerto Ricans, or others not so thoughtful, will find himself all but bewildered by the inconsistencies he confronts. He may have thought to find himself in an atmosphere of gratitude to the United States for freedom conferred, liberties preserved, opportunities multiplied and bounties poured forth upon a theretofore oppressed people under the rule of a dry-rotted kingdom. He has heard of insurrectionary leaders, agitation and outbreak, because such things make news, but he has not sensed the fact that island gratefulness, like island outbreak, is sporadic, ill-defined, and certainly far from universal.

Except for the provocative purposes of the demagogue, island discontent is not dynamic, but rather analytical. Except for the disappointment which dilutes the high appreciation and gratitude for what the American regime has done, the thoughtful Puerto Ricans in non-political activities, and, indeed, most of the politicians themselves in private conversation, are not dynamic either in criticism or in blame.

We—the continental Americans—dislodged Spain from Puerto Rico. We kept as our own what we took from Spain. We have administered it, developed it, and made it a free land, with the terrors of absolutism almost forgotten. We have made it a land of opportunity for the Puerto Ricans—and for ourselves. We have done so much for the island and the island people, far beyond any calculations in the beginning, that it is a pity we do not do more, grant more, confer more, unreservedly!

The foregoing mild summary of the disappointment that is expressed more or less cautiously, certainly lacks violence of demand, and it does not omit the gratitude. But the American who thinks that the generosity and the perfection of our regime in Puerto Rico entitle him to purr with unqualified pride in his own national excellences is, first of all, mistaken, and second, takes the wrong mental attitude for serving either the Puerto Ricans or the Americans most effectively.

Within the two-year continuance of military authority the island of Puerto Rico had three successive military governors. Under the civil government in effect from 1900 to 1917, we sent five governors to serve as chief executives. One of these continued in office after the establishment of the Organic Act in 1917, and seven successors have been appointed to the office since that time. Here we have a total of fifteen successive governors within a period of less than forty years. All of these have been appointed from the continental United States. Except two who had served as department chief and executive secretary to a predecessor governor, every one of them came to the island as a stranger to its peoples and its problems.

Let us assume that all such appointees in turn arrived with high intent to serve the island well, and to add to their own distinctions by their efficiency. In their own anticipations they may have been "career men" already well advanced and with other greater glories ahead. Nevertheless, without minimizing that assumption of high intent, it has to be recognized that too many of them were no better than tawdry politicians, hopelessly unfitted for the intricate duties and relationships that were inevitable, appointed by successive presidents as a reward for political campaign services at home and so known. Most of them passed on and out of office to be forgotten. The failures are the ones that are best remembered by a sensitive people. They are the ones who established the odium justly attached to the charge of carpetbag government.

Some who were well-meaning committed the worst of the gaucheries, harder to live down than an act of oppression might be. Some of them sat with their feet on top of the desk through brief, bewildered terms of office, never knowing "what it was all about," and ruefully explaining that they could not understand "these Puerto Ricans." Some of them looked down upon the islanders from their lofty heights and condescended to them. Some, still more clumsy in their personal and social relations, made the islanders contemptuous by "getting into the wrong hands" too promptly and too lightly. Some were too effusive in their assumption of instant fellowship with all the island mankind, while actually using Puerto Rico as a stepping-stone to loftier preferment and quick escape. It is a sorry sequence by any impersonal standard. With such a memory of the governors, resident Americans have to assume pride in all that the United States has done for the island, and thoughtful Puerto Ricans have to be tolerant critics, still hopeful of better things.

It would be useless, as well as mistaken, to wish that the United States had sometime earlier had prior schooling in the art of colonial government, even such slight approach to colonial government as we have to contribute in our existing relationship with Puerto Rico. It is true, however, that our percentage of blundering in the Caribbean must have been the greater because we had no body of experience with which to guide the selection of men, or the men themselves. The same limitations have made themselves manifest in the continental appointments to Puerto Rican office all the way down from the governorship. Too often such appointments have been matters of partizan political reward rather than a choice by fitness. It is an eternal surprise that in spite of such a system the percentage of error is no greater, and the percentage of faithful effort to serve the island well remains so high.

Actually the list of insular and Federal appointees to office shows a constant increase in the number of Puerto Rican officials, high and low, and a diminishing of the continental

Americans. Part of this is due to the improving equipment of Puerto Ricans for responsible office as the years go by. Part of it is a conscious or unconscious desire on the part of American authority to establish a more truly Puerto Rican manning of the insular ship of state as a matter of elementary justice. Part of it is the result of political agitation and assertion on the part of Puerto Ricans that their equity in the appointive offices is complete, and that recognition should tend that way as a matter of right.

Precisely the same attitudes and tendencies exist in unofficial circles, financial, business and professional. The American colony does not diminish in number, nor does it increase in any substantial measure. The management of branch agencies of continental business houses, steamship companies, banks and industries is sometimes Puerto Rican, sometimes American. The same is true as to the department heads and junior staffs. Habit seems to govern in large degree. Continental Americans have had more experience in business and branch houses throughout the world than they have had in island government, so that experience and promotion in unofficial posts can be utilized to full advantage.

In these circles the American colony finds its interrelationship with Puerto Ricans in kindred activities. Friendships and understandings develop from one to the other. The noonday "Service Clubs" familiar in the continental United States are likewise established and active in the cities of Puerto Rico. They have the same ceremonials and formulas—Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and the rest—the same songs, and the same standards of selection and fellowship in their mixed membership that would be found in the continental cities. Such groups bring practicality into the association with more potential helpfulness than can be easily realized.

In the more dignified and cosmopolitan activities of professional and cultural life there is also a readier growth of fellowship and understanding between resident Americans and

Puerto Ricans of similar occupation. Distinguished physicians, literary men, artists, specialists in archeology, history, the practical application of the sciences, and such dynamically practical activities as hydro-electric development, irrigation, and the like, find high respect for one another and recognize their common values. Real distinction in such things manifests itself in Puerto Rico and becomes a nucleus around which other betterments will certainly be achieved.

The institutional activities of San Juan are such as naturally center in a capital city which is also a metropolis. The business center of San Juan is the ancient city. From the very moment of emergence therefrom the visitor is impressed by the succession of noteworthy buildings which house public and semi-public, official and semi-official activities. It is rather a noble array, truly an exemplar of what a great civic center might be, although the contours of the island cause them to continue in a sequence of distinction rather than by grouping. The long and narrow island, with its favored building sites looking toward the Atlantic or the harbor, or both, has been put to full advantage thus.

Plaza de Colon—Columbus Square—marks the transition from business, which occupies two of its frontages, to public or civic structures which continue almost uninterruptedly for the next half-mile. In the center of the Plaza is the bronze and marble memorial erected in honor of the discoverer of the New World, the statue itself averred to be the finest of Columbus in all the Americas, and its bronze high-reliefs widely familiar by reproduction because of their art and their historic distinction. This monument to the navigator was erected in 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The San Juan statue commemorates the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Puerto Rico.

Facing the Plaza and the Columbus statue is the capacious Municipal Theater which dates back beyond the American regime and still furnishes the stage for such traveling operatic and theatrical companies as tour the West Indies. Popular subscription provided the funds for the beginning of the Municipal Theater in 1825. It was finished seven years later, and therefore for more than a century it has been the scene of carnivals, festivals and charity balls for which it still serves.

The Casino de Puerto Rico, with its silver-domed roof, faces the fourth side of the Plaza, a social center, the most prominent clubhouse of the capital.

Ponce de Leon Avenue, which leads out of the Plaza, immediately becomes the boulevard of high distinction. On the right is the Acosta School, of modern construction, as a part of the school system of the island. The general offices of the American Railroad Company of Puerto Rico—the circum-island line—and the San Juan railway station occupy excellent buildings across a small park to the right of Ponce de Leon Avenue.

The building of the Workmen's Compensation Board, a liberal and far-sighted pioneer example of its type, and a bureau of the Insular Government, is a handsome structure facing the boulevard and the frowning walls of San Cristobal fortress across the avenue. The Young Men's Christian Association, well-situated and well-housed with a spacious modern building, extends from street to street between Ponce de Leon Avenue and Salvador Brau Boulevard, a new street beautifully planned, running parallel with Ponce de Leon and looking out upon the Atlantic Ocean.

The two boulevards give two frontages to the structures which are thus fortunately located. The Atheneum is the next of these, a beautiful building of Moorish architecture, headquarters of the club which is dedicated to the advancement of literature, art, science, and education. This institution, from the day of its foundation, has been a cultural society where the devotees of the arts found fellowship. Members of the society conducted classes in the arts, sciences, and languages, and in history and philosophy. From this source ultimately sprang the

University of Puerto Rico. In the earlier days, when the Atheneum had no function but to be truly an institution of the cultural arts its financial support was circumscribed and uncertain, a limitation not unknown to such institutions, but the familiar old quarters then occupied are cherished in memory. In later years, with the construction of its new building and the requirement of larger resources, the membership has grown in numbers, with a larger element of political discussion and expression developed, where once the cultural arts and pure learning were the whole objective.

The Carnegie Public Library continues the procession of quasi-public buildings. It is a classic structure, fully adequate in a physical sense for the functions intended. But it has sadly lacked for financial support of late years. It was the outgrowth of a small free library, established in 1901. A few years later Andrew Carnegie gave $100,000 for the construction of a building, and through public and other private gifts and funds the library was enlarged to more than 50,000 volumes, with a circulating department serving the entire island. During the depression years support was so reduced, and appropriations from the insular treasury so diminished, that the library fell badly behind its requirements in accessions, money and service. The structure and the name are there, but much needs to be done to restore it to its proper position.

In the most favored location of all this succession of institutional structures comes the last one before reaching the capitol grounds, a site of unrivaled beauty, facing the new insular capitol building and extending from avenue to boulevard. It is known as La Casa de España—Spanish House. This is a splendid structure, built at great cost out of funds contributed by those Puerto Ricans who still characterize themselves as Spaniards, the Spanish colony of San Juan.

Casual reference speaks of it only as a distinguished example of Spanish architecture "given to the people of Puerto Rico by the Spanish colony." Justifiable emphasis is placed upon its elaborate beauty and the large expense that entered into its construction. Its distinguishing features include a duplication of the famous Fountain of the Lions in the Alhambra. Its private swimming-pool occupies an inner *patio* surrounded by arched corridors. Indoor and court athletic sports are lavishly provided for. Its blue-and-white tiled turret roof and a series of roof gardens gay with modernistic furniture form interesting contrasts with each other and with the Moorish architecture which characterizes the building.

The structure and the institution it houses are more significant than first observation suggests. The Spanish regime had ended and the American regime was many years advanced before La Casa de España was suggested. Spaniards cherishing the days that were gone, Spaniards who had been of the dominant element, few of them sharing the restlessness of Puerto Ricans or wishing in earlier days to be Puerto Rican rather than Spanish, sought practical as well as idealistic means of perpetuating the relationship between Spain, the mother country, and the Spanish island in the Caribbean above which at last another flag was flying. They sought to do this by cultural and idealistic aspirations. Certainly not by restlessness. They are still conservative under the American flag, even while they cultivate among themselves a fervent pride in Spain as it was.

Nothing could well be more lofty than the formulated purposes of La Casa de España. As stated by one of its officials, the Spanish colony being located in isolated groups, the Casinos scattered through the island being chiefly social in their functions, "and the Spaniards having no authorized voice aside from official representation before the authorities of the country, it was thought wise to create an institution comprising within itself the autonomous energies under development, the embryonic aspirations, and the synthetic representation of Spaniards in Puerto Rico for the public good." A committee of men active in the Spanish colony of San Juan was formed for propaganda work and this committee obtained more than 3,000 members in the island from whom delegations were sent to a general assembly.

This assembly laid out "a definite policy for those who because of their wealth, love of work, respect for the laws, love of order, culture, origin, blood, race, and deep-rooted history, and the sacredness of their homes as formerly and at present constituted, were factors that should be counted on to solve the problems of the island more happily."

The organization aimed "to strengthen the bonds that joined Spaniards and Puerto Ricans; to maintain the cordial relations existing with the Government of the island; to contribute efficiently toward the financial and social development of the island; to bring to Puerto Rico in a crusade of ideals the Spaniards who are high and true exponents of letters, art, and the sciences; to organize permanent expositions of masterpieces in Spanish sculpture and paintings; to make known in Puerto Rico, also by means of exhibitions, the industry and commerce of Spain; to endeavor through all such efforts as may be necessary to purify and perfect the mental and physical culture of the members to the highest degree possible. Also to promote public education by means of financial aid to the centers of learning of the island, and by the creation of schools supported by the institution; to establish scholarships in Puerto Rico, the United States and Spain to be granted to youths of no means but of proven ability; and to constitute courts of arbitration to decide whenever possible such differences as might arise between Spaniards in financial matters; to practise charity in favor of needy Spaniards and families of Spaniards; to lend aid whenever a misfortune to the island makes such aid necessary; to open information bureaus where the members may find facilities in ascertaining their rights and duties as regards their relations with the Government of their own country and with that of Puerto Rico; to construct a building to serve as a suitable home for the institution; to provide in said building proper quarters for the Spanish Consulate and for the Consulates of the Spanish-American nations, and to have before the continental authorities as well as before the Insular Government a synthetic organization comprising and representing the extensive culture, the unquestionable morals, and the enormous financial power of the Spanish colony."

The most casual reading of the statement of purposes will indicate that the new organization had an almost unlimited program revolving around devotion to the Spanish tradition and the preservation of the loyal relationship of the Spanish in the island to their mother country—not indeed expressed in terms of political loyalty, but loyalty to the past ideals and affections of the peninsular kingdom. His Majesty King Alfonso XIII accepted the honorary presidency of La Casa de España, the splendid building facing the insular capitol was erected, and in this organization centers the influence and the interests of those who are still Spaniards in Puerto Rico. Through family connections and business connections of wide extent it has been an influential organization to be reckoned with at all times.

Not all Puerto Ricans look upon it with favor. Not all members of the American colony look upon it with favor. Its critics regard it as the last rallying-point of "diehard" Spanish policy and opinion. Its friends regard it as a citadel where the best of Spanish tradition and aspiration still survives. Acrid Puerto Rican critics hesitate to choose between the American colony and the Spanish colony, "both groups," say they, "carpetbaggers and exploiters, with no heart in their Puerto Rican relationship."

But not all Puerto Ricans are of original Spanish descent. A distinct racial strain, and a valued one, appears prominently from direct Corsican origin, many such families bearing names that are Italian in form rather than Spanish. Mostly they reached Puerto Rico from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago by way of Haiti and Santo Domingo. They had been settlers in one colony or the other of what was once old Hispaniola. After the Napoleonic regime was at an end, and the island was left to its own political turmoils, the Corsican group gradually filtered across the Mona Passage to Puerto Rico, settling there as French citizens, and in large measure retaining that citizenship during the succeeding years.

When thereafter the American regime was established, the Corsican families were generally the surest that their choice lay with the United States. They had no heart in choosing Spanish citizenship, and they had no historic or sentimental relationship with the French republic, so it became easy for them to move directly into the American family. It is fortunate for both elements that this was so. Under their American citizenship so eagerly chosen, they have proved to be one of the most valuable elements in the island. Their names appear in the forefront of educational, industrial and technical matters. And although they have long ago merged with their neighbors, there is a differentiation that is generally recognized, and the Corsican is still proud of his origin.

To this group should be added a smaller but highly valued element of actual French origin, some of them coming directly from France many generations ago, and some by way of Hispaniola. They show in French family names, culture and industrial leadership, beyond their numerical strength, and are more certainly American in their choice of citizenship than are many of their Spanish neighbors.

It should always be kept in mind that the temporary legislation which established a form of civil government—the Foraker Act of 1900—characterized all prior citizens of the island, except those who affirmatively elected Spanish citizenship, as citizens of Puerto Rico. The new Organic Act—the Jones Act, seventeen years later—under which the island has since been governed, declared all citizens of Puerto Rico thenceforth to be citizens of the United States, reserving to them for six months the right to enroll themselves as of other citizenship. Only 288 of the theretofore "citizens of Puerto Rico" exercised that right, and from that time all but those 288, the 5,230 who had elected Spanish citizenship in 1900, and the resident nationals of other countries, have been American citizens together, equally and identically with the people of the continental United States.

The manner of casual characterization, however, continues to be confusing to travelers and no elucidating of it ever seems to be conclusive. The new arrival from the continental north finds that he is called an American, but his neighbor, born in Puerto Rico but of identical citizenship with him in the Federal Union, speaks always of himself as a Puerto Rican, except when speaking with precision to explain the point. Then he will say, "Of course I am an American citizen, just as you are."

If this same Puerto Rican neighbor is speaking of another friend he may remark, explanatorily, "He is a Spaniard," only to add, "Of course, he is Puerto Rican born, and an American citizen, but he is of a Spanish household and he is a member of the Spanish colony." Political speakers say, "We insular Americans on one hand, and continental Americans on the other," but they no less earnestly assume the common citizenship. In numerical consequence, of course, those who call themselves and are called Puerto Ricans comprise practically the entire population. The Spanish colony numbers a few thousand, the American a few hundred. But the spirit of that separation is pervasive, even though the casual observer might easily overemphasize it.

Of course, too, there is some crossing over from one category to another, by change of associations or circumstances. For instance, it is a fair assumption that Santiago Iglesias, elected in 1936 as the Resident Commissioner of the island in Washington, although Spanish born, regards himself as a fully established Puerto Rican. As leader of the Socialist party, and of the union labor organizations of the island, this could hardly be otherwise.

I recur to the spirit of the Spanish colony because that element is always to be regarded in island affairs. Those who constitute it may be ever so generous, ever so hospitable, always courtly, but they are fixed in what their analyst-critics regard as loyalty to the past, inelastic to changing concepts of society and industrialism, thinking of Puerto Rico as their own feudal domain, and unhappy over the intrusions of liberty and restless labor where once they ruled as patriarchs. In large measure they have been rich in possessions—sugar plantations, banks, business houses. Culturally, politically, and financially they have remained Spanish through many generations, intermarrying and flourishing. La Casa de España has been their spiritual home, and they have always maintained a certain social and financial aloofness.

This is the element which is the more seriously distressed by the untoward events in Spain—the civil war and its accompanying tragedies. They have kept faith with Spain, sent their sons there for education, traveled there with their families as if they were "going back home," and, in short, maintained the Spanish tradition to the utmost of their power. Those of them who were caught in Spain as travelers, or whose families were there at the time of the outbreak of civil war, have been distressed indeed. They have had no equities or relationship enabling them to appeal to the State Department of the United States for aid or interference in the affairs of their households in Spain. Spanish citizens throughout the period since the American regime began, by deliberate choice and the confirmation of that choice by the courts, the Government at Washington is not their government. The Puerto Rican citizens of the United States, even some of those restless ones demanding "freedom" from the American republic, have taken heed of these trying circumstances, and comfort in the peace which the United States enjoys, far across the sea from Mother Spain.

To an extent somewhat disturbing in an island where capital is so greatly needed for long-time investment in local industry, the prosperous members of the Spanish colony have withdrawn their profits year by year for investment in Spain, in France, and elsewhere. They have set an unfortunate example, too much followed by the Puerto Ricans themselves, and likewise the Americans, in the draining of island earnings from the island instead of replenishing by investment there to build further prosperity for all.

Oddly enough, the civil war in Spain has already resulted in a substantial change in Puerto Rico. There is an undoubted building boom under way in the island, visible in all quarters. It includes structures as various as new post-offices, schoolhouses, and other public works on the list of projects fostered by PRRA. Also it includes hundreds of projects in the rehousing program, all the way from the great structure in San Juan, erected as a step in the abolishment of the slums, to the three-room homes for the poorest of the mountain *jibaros*—the farmers—to supersede their abominable huts.

In another category appear the grandiose "castles" built by local magnates, apparently to advertise their wealth, however unfittingly. These castles have become a challenge to good taste, criticized most of all by the Puerto Ricans for their splendor in the face of poverty. Not the American colony, but the Spanish, and opulent Puerto Ricans themselves, are in this detail the objects of political and industrial criticism on the part of restless radicals who are thus foolishly furnished ammunition.

All the foregoing activities help gradually to ease the island poverty and stimulate prosperity by percolation. But they alone would not account for the building boom in all the towns and cities. In Mayagüez, for instance, new suburbs have been surveyed and opened for home-building, where houses are rising with the speed of a western promotion. A similar growth is visible in Ponce, and in the outskirts of San Juan the sound and sight of building are on every hand.

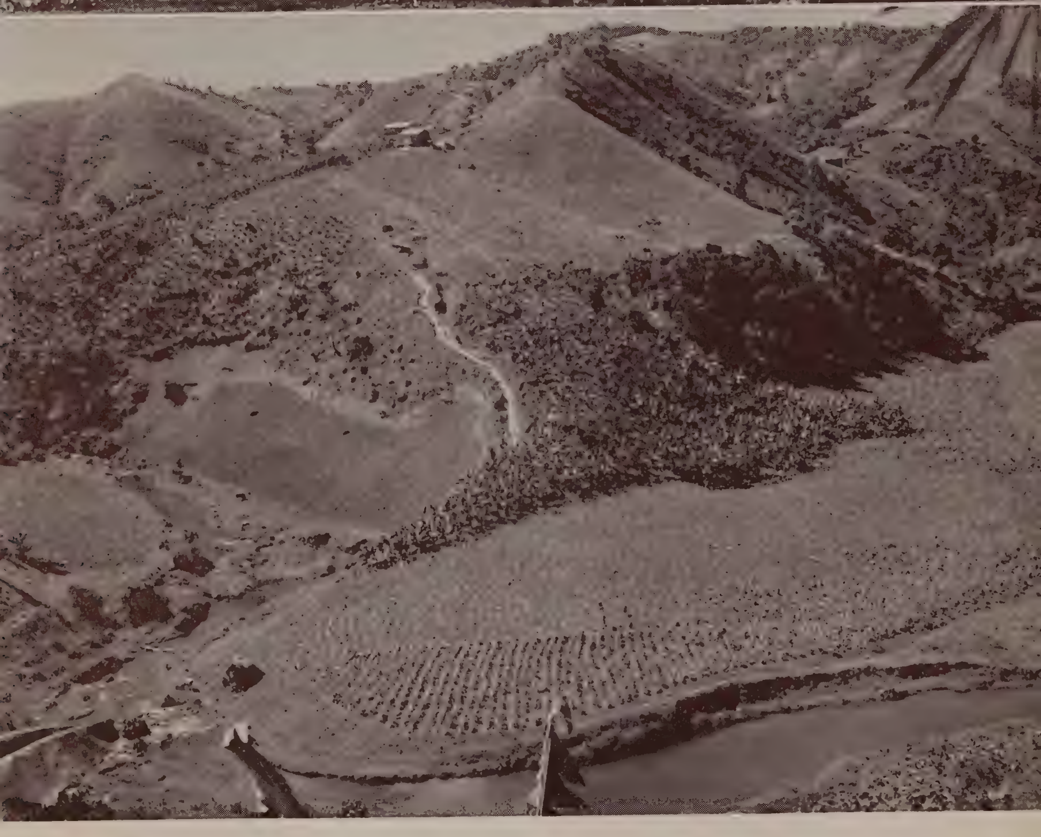
It is investment money that is doing this, partly a result of Federal cooperation in the field of housing loans, and partly a result of the war in Spain. This latter detail is "the good that is blown by the ill winds of war from overseas." A fraction of the total, difficult to compute but manifestly large, is capital investment of profits made by the Spanish merchants and planters in the island, sugar profits chiefly. In other years this capital, or its accrued profits, would have found an inevitable destination in the Spanish peninsula. Now, because of the unsettled conditions and the hazards of what may follow, this money is retained in Puerto Rico and largely reinvested in real estate and real estate improvements. The Spanish colony thus may now become an active agency as a source of island prosperity.

Parenthetically, it seems a fair item of detached fact to remark that island opinion as to the war in Spain—sympathy rather than opinion—is divided as it is elsewhere. But in so far as public opinion can be assayed from the press, from wide inquiry, and from crowd-comments, the Spanish government and its attitudes are favored by the mass of Puerto Ricans, while the insurgents and General Franco are upheld by the Spanish colony.

Perhaps no group should exist in Puerto Rico susceptible to correct characterization as the American colony, but it would be impossible to ignore its existence. Few Americans, if any, ever went from the continental United States to Puerto Rico in the mental attitude of the immigrants who came to the United States during a long period of years. Overcrowded Europe poured surplus millions of young men and women into the United States, looking toward freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and, ultimately, grateful citizenship. Puerto Rico, overcrowded, offered no such opportunity, nor allurement except to the few who sought milder climate, tropical adventure, and the rewards of exploitation. European immigration into the United States was no less selfishly actuated by the benefits expected, but those promised benefits were to be largely social and spiritual, and they included the concept of an established success and home in a new land, to be achieved by hard work,

- *Above:* The Atheneum, center of island activities in the fostering of literature and the arts.
Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

- *Below:* A campus view of the University of Puerto Rico, at Rio Piedras, a suburb of the capital.



- *Above:* A cocoanut grove at the waterside.
- *Below:* Intensive farming in the mountain valleys. These "acres on edge" are in the Cayey district.

Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce

rather than exploitation of a bland and beautiful tropic isle.

While many Americans have been born in Puerto Rico to the first and second generations since the shift of sovereignty, residing and prospering there, and rendering fine service in their lives and relationships with the island community, hardly one of them speaks of himself as a Puerto Rican. With few exceptions they regard themselves as marooned in a lonesome island far from home, with hope of permanent return all but vain. Enmeshed by circumstance, the ties they have formed, the softness of the climate and the dread of seeking lost opportunity back home, as they see it they are all but bound to the wheel.

For the purpose of this present calculation, the total population of the island may be assumed as close to 1,800,000. A similar assumption places the total number of Americans now living in Puerto Rico at about 1,800. One for every one thousand! Of these Americans approximately one-half—somewhat less than 1,000—live in San Juan and the adjacent suburbs, and the remainder are scattered throughout the island.

The large sugar *centrals*, at least those owned by American corporations, have American managers, heads of departments, and technical men, with their families, as do a few other enterprises. There are American college professors in the English and technical departments of the University, and American teachers scattered through the public school system. There is the Federal Agricultural Experiment Station at Mayagüez with its American members of the technical staff. Various American church organizations maintain mission schools. Besides all these there are a few small plantations scattered among the mountains and valleys, individually operated by the owners.

With miles as short as they are in motor-cars, and improved highways so widely accessible, these one-man or one-family outposts are not as lonesome as they might seem. They require no provision against cold weather, the climate captivates, there are always neighbors of their own kind at no forbidding distance, small dances and card parties bring groups together from many miles around, and altogether the life has its undoubted fascinations.

It seems to be realized better by the American women than by the American men that there is a poignancy for them about island life not to be disregarded. The men may be deeply and interestedly engrossed in their business or professional activities. They are mixing man-fashion with their Puerto Rican friends in business life. In the cities, luncheon visits with strangers who come and go with every sailing, meetings of the service clubs, sport, and the daily affairs of life may easily keep them thoroughly entertained with the novelty of exotic conditions and the stimulus of their affairs.

American women have their homes to keep with the aid of plentiful and incompetent servants, their card and tea parties, their children, and their round of social events. Perhaps they have more time for thinking about the domestic problems. They reach the early conclusion that the island schools are not the place where their children should be educated, the island children not fruitful of the friendships that playmates ought to establish. No such compulsion for the sake of health exists as the English official exiles in India must recognize by sending the youngsters home to England for the years of youth, but assuredly American mothers do not find the glamour of the island as convincing as do their husbands. Often you hear them bewailing that their children are not getting the upbringing or the associations that they would have "back home."

Many a woman finds her husband reluctant to leave the island when she herself is yearning for that northern voyage with no return ticket. Perhaps the man's decision is based upon a poignancy of its own. He is out of step with continental opportunities, bare of connections there, fearful of the effort and the hazard of failure in an attempt to establish a successful business or professional stability in some strange city of the North, after years of genial living in the island south.

It is apparent that the dilution ratio of one American in every thousand Puerto Ricans is too small to reframe island affairs by speed or pressure even if that were a worthy thing to be done at all. Only by maintaining standards of excellence, by contributing valuable technique which proves itself, by mannerly contacts and worthy dealings, can American ways impress themselves and find favor when they deserve it. Every American family, every American, has some individual responsibility as a veritable ambassador to do his country credit in the esteem of the multitude around him. This does not mean the adoption of a concept that the American in Puerto Rico—or anywhere else—should placard himself as an example to be emulated by some "lesser breed without the law," but merely that he must needs hold up his standards of practise with the utmost rigor, or he will find himself the disprized object of thinly veiled contempt.

There is a measure of truth in the reproach that the American colony is partly the residue of the official carpetbaggers' regime. Certainly appointees to office in Puerto Rico as reward for political services rendered in the United States are constantly fewer, this as it should be. Presidents seem to be getting more cautious in their selections of Federal appointees, thinking rather of the fitting choice than of reward for campaign funds and campaign speeches.

Under the Organic Act, a certain few offices are required to be filled by American appointees. Additionally, such emergency work as had to be done in the cause of relief by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration—that practical and providential instrumentality of salvation immortalized as PRRA—called for the appointment of many Americans in administrative and technical positions. Headway would have been the speedier and results the better if more of the important executive appointments had been American from the beginning. I am satisfied that the wish and tendency in practise of American officials in the island is to build up as fast as possible the efficiency and the authority of Puerto Ricans who can take their place.

In personal and social relations there is a cordial exchange of formal hospitality between congenial members of the American colony and their friends with common interests and tastes in the Spanish colony and in Puerto Rican circles. Among men, these friendships develop in official, professional and business life, and they extend socially through these channels. Many American women find themselves busily occupied in what is almost the American small-town rotation of afternoon and evening parties in their own colony.

In such public-spirited work as the relief of need in times of disaster, benevolences to the sick and poor, and like charities, the women of the American colony, the more numerous women of the Spanish colony, and the Puerto Rican women themselves become resourceful, effective, and sacrificial. But with emergency past they incline rather to find outlet for their public spirit in their individual charities, or through their affiliation with some church, mission, hospital or school whose activities they support.

Individual friendships between Puerto Rican and American women become intimate and illuminating, valued by both. But to the observer from without it seems an unfortunate lapse that no outstanding organizations appear as centers of social and political fellowship, enlisting leadership and members from all the island colonies. This seems an omission which has had sufficient time to correct itself by the development of a woman's club, potent in its public service and relationship, however restricted its scope might have to be. The women of the American colony, the Spanish colony, and the dominant Puerto Rican group of similar tastes, aspirations and devotion might well have been assembling long before this to take the initiative toward solution of many a civic problem needing the attention of womankind.

Racial, religious and social customs may have made such an organization slow to form and difficult to maintain. But forty years are forty years. There has been time for friendship, fellowship and leadership to develop an institution of common ideals, an outstanding instrumentality for good in civic and sociological affairs. Its absence is to be regretted. In a land where woman suffrage is in effect, where children are so plentiful and the welfare of children so cherished, the problems of the island so pressing, one vainly asks, "And what have the women been doing?"

Chapter XVI

MATTERS OF HEALTH AND CLIMATE

THERE is seldom disagreement as to the chief betterments that have been established since the American regime began. Sanitation, education and communication come first in the list of benefits remembered, whatever divergence there may be as to political matters. Devastating pests and plagues have been abolished, not by law, but by sanitation. The death rate has been steadily reduced, and the more prevalent ailments that were themselves an island-wide catastrophe have been all but eliminated. Federal and insular authority are both to be credited with wise cooperation toward a common objective.

In chapters covering the Grand Tour and the tourists' affairs, the matter of highway development has been regarded. Education has its chapters later, controversial as well as informative—a circumstance which exists among educators themselves. The matter of sanitation and of health in general has its dramatic side, its tragedy and its farce.

Organized public attention to the health and sanitation of the backward island was all but a blank under the Spanish regime. The natural salubrity of the island and the will of God were left to attend to such matters. Gestures were made from time to time under the drive of epidemic, but never with adequate resources of money or science. Now even a mere catalogue of the authority and responsibility of the Insular Department of Health becomes impressive. A Puerto Rican is a member of the Governor's cabinet, and executive head of the department. This commissioner has general supervision over all matters pertaining to public health and sanitation, except the Federal maritime quarantine. Under his authority the Board of Health regulates all matters pertaining to public health and sanitation, including the prevention and suppression of contagious and epidemic diseases.

Among the organized bureaus and divisions of the department are the bureau of transmissible diseases, the bureau of uncinariasis which copes with the prevalent "hookworm" disease, the division of social medicine which gives attention to tuberculosis clinics, child welfare, and prenatal clinics, with a staff of visiting nurses, and such other essentials as plague prevention, malaria control, food and drug inspection, sanitary engineering which deals with the purity of the water supply, mosquito extermination, and sewerage systems.

Noble service has been rendered to the island by Puerto Rican physicians as well as by Americans, many of them honored by the profession at large for their discoveries of cause and treatment of ailments common to almost all tropical regions throughout the world. Among those the name of Dr. Bailey K. Ashford stands at the very top. The most attractive waterfront boulevard in all Santurce, a choice residential suburb of the capital, bears his name in tribute.

Young Ashford was a lieutenant of the medical corps of the United States Army stationed at Ponce, when the American occupation was but one year old. When the hurricane of 1899 brought disaster upon the island he observed the hapless physical condition of the destitute people among whom he was working. It became his scientific distinction to discover the hookworm, to prove that pest to be the chief cause of the universal anemia which many people theretofore had charged to laziness, and to prove also that the hookworm was distributed to all the enfeebled peasantry chiefly by barefoot contact with polluted soil.

Not until five years had passed was a small appropriation made available by the Legislature to finance the treatment and eradication of the all but universal island disease. In less than ten years, with increased appropriations, several hundred thousand individuals had been successfully treated at small cost, and in the years that have followed that plague has been so diminished that its eradication can be predicted. In ten years the rate of island mortality was reduced from around forty-two per thousand to less than twenty-two per thousand.

The amazing result of this record induced the extension of the work of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation more widely in the southern mountain areas of the United States, where the parasite was an exactly similar curse. This work now continues throughout the tropical world, with a constant lift in the health of millions as a result.

While this most noteworthy of events was under way of accomplishment, other specialists, American and Puerto Rican, were busied with other ailments peculiar to the neglected tropics. Yellow fever was literally abolished in the island. Malaria was systematically attacked and greatly reduced. Diseases as far separated as sprue and bubonic plague were studied most helpfully, and the latter, rat-carried as it is, wiped out. Leprosy was segregated and helpfully studied. Social diseases have been given a degree of attention and cure quite unknown in the days of Spanish authority. Tuberculosis has been studied and reduced by teaching, by improvements in the habits of life, and by segregation in sanatoriums. Infant mortality has been reduced even in the last twenty years from around 175 per thousand to less than 150 per thousand births. Typhoid prevailed widely until the new regime enforced a greater degree of purity in the water supply.

Island authorities are optimistic as to the future. They recognize that the infantile mortality rate, the prevalence of tuberculosis and the death rate in general are substantially in excess of the rates which should prevail in a land so naturally wholesome. The people have been slow to recognize that sanitary regulations are established for their own benefit. Cost of household sanitation, modern water supplies, and proper drainage and disposal of refuse are expensive, and, still worse to the ignorant, they are an unnecessary bother. It is the percentage of improvement of which the island is proud, rather than the entirety of success.

Although the School of Tropical Medicine is one of the professional schools in the University of Puerto Rico, its international service and characteristics require its mention here. There was founded in 1912 an insular Institute of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, for the study of diseases peculiar to the island climate. Later, the Puerto Rican Legislature created the School of Tropical Medicine, transferred to it all the properties and functions of the former institution, and provided for the construction of an adequate building for laboratories, library, and offices. This first building was completed more than ten years ago and two extensions have been built since that time.

The School of Tropical Medicine is conducted by a special board of trustees consisting of five members, of whom three are chosen by the trustees of the University of Puerto Rico from its own members, and two by Columbia University. This novel plan of cooperation was worked out in 1926. The authority to determine the educational policy of the school and to make nominations to its faculty was delegated to Columbia University, subject to the approval of the special board of trustees. In other respects the school is operated as a semi-autonomous unit of the University of Puerto Rico. This plan has proved so successful, and the services rendered so distinguished locally and internationally, that the interest of the Rockefeller Foundation has always been preserved, and large resources have been made available from that institution.

The building and grounds of the school occupy a distinguished site facing the Federal capitol building, and extending from Salvador Brau Boulevard to Ponce de Leon Avenue, exactly opposite La Casa de España, thus preserving an architectural balance with that notable structure, both of them distinguished examples of Moorish architecture. It is the understanding that further expansions of the school are near at hand through a construction of additional buildings. The ordinary cost of maintenance is shared by the University of Puerto Rico and Columbia University. The latest year of record shows an appropriation of $71,000 from the University of Puerto Rico and $31,000 from Columbia University, and the insular government provided some $55,000 for maintenance of the University Hospital.

The University catalogue calls attention to the fact that this is the first school of its kind to be established in the Western Hemisphere, though the need has long been recognized and partly met through the organization of departments of tropical medicine in several of the leading medical schools of North and South America. It gives opportunity to study in a tropical environment the cause and prevention of that large, ill-defined group of disorders known as tropical diseases, and at the same time to observe the influence of tropical conditions on diseases in general.

Ties of race and language bind Puerto Rico to the peoples of Central and South America and thus make the island a logical meeting-place for students who speak English, Spanish, or Portuguese. The climate, though tropical, is so tempered by the prevailing sea winds as to make it possible to pursue scientific investigations throughout the year, even in the warm coastal zone. The high, mountainous interior, quickly reached by automobile, makes an invigorating change easily obtainable at any season.

The relations between the school and the insular Department of Health assure constant cooperation to a degree that would be difficult in some less developed sections of the tropics. The density of population and the difficult economic factors which influence the living conditions of the masses accentuate the medical problems of the island, and make the school at the same time rich in opportunity to study and relieve a great variety of the more serious tropical diseases. The school is highly organized, with clinical facilities in its own and other San Juan hospitals, field work throughout the island, and cooperation not only with the insular Department of Health but also with the international health division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Both English and Spanish are used throughout the course of study and research. It would be difficult to overemphasize the far-reaching value of the School of Tropical Medicine and its place in island and in international health.

Since climate and what climate has done to produce surrounding beauty of forest and field and garden, sky and sea, are the chief asset attractions that should bring travelers to the island, it is pertinent to introduce the actualities for the reader. They relate things as stated by the senior meteorologist of the U. S. Weather Bureau, Richard W. Gray. After twenty-four years in charge of the bureau at Miami, Florida, Mr. Gray was transferred to a similar position at San Juan, and carries that authority in his utterance. He speaks of the hegira of people from northerly to southerly latitudes at the beginning of every winter season, hundreds of thousands of them in search of warmer weather and sunshine.

"In Europe," Mr. Gray says, "the migration is principally to the French and Italian Riviera and the northern countries of Africa. In North America the tourists go in vast numbers to southern Florida, southern California, and Honolulu, and in lesser numbers to Bermuda, the Bahamas, Cuba, Jamaica, and some of the other islands of the West Indies. Relatively few come to Puerto Rico. Since climate is the principal factor in connection with the winter tourist travel, let us compare the weather that we have in San Juan with the weather in some of the great tourist centers. First we shall take the Mediterranean region and Los Angeles, California, which have somewhat similar climates. The average winter temperature in San Juan is twenty-eight degrees higher than at Nice, twenty-seven degrees higher than at Naples, twenty degrees higher than at Algiers, and nineteen degrees higher than at Cairo, Egypt, and Los Angeles, California. If some sudden change in nature should reduce San Juan's winter temperature to that of the places named, we should be much more concerned with installing heating-apparatus in our houses, and blankets on our beds, than in inviting tourists to Puerto Rico.

"Now let us take Honolulu, and Miami, Florida, which are among the greatest competitors of Puerto Rico with respect to climate. San Juan is seven degrees warmer in winter than Miami and four degrees warmer than Honolulu. These latter differences are not great, but they show that Puerto Rico should be included among the most favorable winter-resort regions.

"I have been dealing with average temperature. If extremes of temperature are considered, the comparisons are still more impressive. For example, Miami has had a temperature as low as twenty-seven degrees, that is to say, a temperature five degrees below freezing. Los Angeles has had a temperature as low as twenty-eight degrees, and temperatures low enough for snow occur in the Riviera and northern Africa. The lowest temperature of record for San Juan is sixty-two degrees. Incidentally, the highest temperature recorded at San Juan last year was eighty-nine degrees. There is not a state in the United States in which higher temperatures do not occur every year. Puerto Rico, with its moderate and equable temperature, with its abundant and brilliant sunshine, and with its ocean breezes, has one of the best winter climates that can be found on this planet of ours. This should be known to the world, but unfortunately it is not. There are several million people who know something about the climates of southern Florida, southern California, and Honolulu, but there are relatively few outside of the West Indies who know anything about the climate of Puerto Rico. Something should be done about it."

Describing the San Juan climate other than in terms of figures, Mr. Gray relates also that "the climate is tropical marine, slightly modified by insular influences. In spite of the fact that there is an average of 214 days a year with rain, there is an average of only five days a year entirely without sunshine. There is an annual average of 2,844 hours of sunshine."

What Mr. Gray says about climate is specifically devoted to conditions at San Juan, the place of landing for all travelers, the capital city, the metropolis, and the center of romance and gaiety as well as of hotel and club life, sport and entertainment. He mentions the fact that dense fogs never occur. "The average annual rainfall is 61.19 inches, fairly well distributed throughout the year, although much the greater amount occurs from May to December, inclusive. The easterly trade winds prevail throughout the year. In fact, the wind is almost constantly from the ocean during the daylight hours. At night it usually shifts to the southeast or south, off the land. These land and sea breezes are an important factor in the delightful climate. The mild and equable temperature of the tropical oceans; the modifying and refreshing effects of the trade winds; and the daily sunshine with the high percentage of ultra-violet rays of low latitudes, are the factors that produce the exceptionally favorable climate of San Juan."

It needs only to be added that the south and west coast, generally speaking, are somewhat warmer than the north and east coasts and that rainfall conditions vary substantially in different parts of the island so that one may almost choose his climate. There are areas on the southern side of the island where the rainfall averages no more than twenty inches annually; mountain ranges in the interior where one may count on rain almost every afternoon; and regions in and adjacent to the Luquillo forest where the rainfall amounts often to more than one hundred and fifty inches annually. Mountain altitudes reached within a few hours' drive from the capital, such as the Luquillo recreation areas, Treasure Island Camp, and El Semil

Hotel, for instance, provide cool weather, bracing air, and even open fireplaces for those who want such reminders in the heart of the tropics. Such a location as the governor's summer residence among the mountain-tops back of Cayey may easily be too cool for those of truly tropical preference.

All the year, regardless of season, the beaches of the Caribbean on the south and the Atlantic on the north provide either surf bathing or still water of agreeable temperature. Even the undoubtable though infrequent threat of sharks and barracuda may be avoided where netted pools have been built for the reassurance of those who might otherwise avoid the bathing. It is unadulterated folly to minimize the peril from shark or barracuda. Traveler's tales may exaggerate, or travelers may be incredulous, but Puerto Ricans and American residents alike know and bow to the actualities and the tragic events that have occurred.

Chapter XVII

A Sorry Jest That Went Astray

I CAN think of nothing that would anger me more, and make me more difficult to assimilate or guide, than to discover that some one was endeavoring to serve me under the "white man's burden" theory. The theory does not necessarily find itself limited to the application of the color line. It would enrage almost any one to find that such was an attitude toward himself, and the manifest existence of such an attitude all but ruins the prospect of rendering such service with any success.

This is true even if the differences of seniority and youth, experience and ignorance, power and weakness, are obvious. That mental attitude visibly adopted will develop resentment even among those whose sense of inferiority is complete—perhaps more certainly in them—and the task becomes multiplied. That is why everything from social service work to the government of misunderstanding elements, or the dealings of one nation with another, calls for the maximum of common sense.

Because Kipling wrote "The White Man's Burden" as one of his contributions to the concept of imperialism, and because that preachment as a direction of approach has too often visibly entered into the attitude of continental Americans in Puerto Rico, alike in public and in private life, that poem and that attitude are among the real antipathies of the Puerto Ricans. Even those islanders who might philosophically realize merit in that Anglo-Saxon utterance have hated to have it voiced, because of its misapplications and the meanings it uncovered. In any analysis of the difficulties to be overcome before the island will be its logical, integral part of the United States in fellowship, this will have to be realized.

Some six years ago, an untoward circumstance temporarily entangled the benevolent efforts to serve the island's health, with a disparaging comment upon the people of the island by a member of that very group enlisted in the service. Because of its political repercussions, it is unhappily necessary to take note in the annals of one of the most astonishing examples of disservice that could well be imagined, a serio-comic episode, impossible, incredible, which truly happened.

It is because of the part the event played in the political maneuvers of Pedro Albizu Campos, then and thereafter president of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico, and now serving a term of imprisonment in the Federal prison at Atlanta, that the incident commands notice here. Its impact upon the sensitive feelings of the islanders, its persistent survival in memory without any possibility that explanations can ever overtake it or erase it with the ignorant and the credulous, and the lesson it points toward the guarding of the thoughts and actions of strangers in a strange land, give it its essential importance.

As had been the long practise, cooperation between the various hospitals of San Juan, the insular Health Department, the School of Tropical Medicine, and the Rockefeller Institute was cordial and active during the fall and winter of 1931. No turmoil disturbed the labors of such various research men, students, or scientists engaged in their regular duties until the receipt of a letter sponsored by Albizu Campos suddenly confronted Dr. Rafael Bernabe, president of the Medical Association of Puerto Rico. The communication was signed by José Lameiro, secretary to the president of the Nationalist party, and read as follows:

Nationalist Party of Porto Rico
National Committee

San Juan, P. R.,
January 24, 1932

Dr. Rafael Bernabe, President,
Medical Association of Porto Rico,
San Juan, P. R.

Sir:—By direction of the President of the Nationalist Party of Porto Rico, Mr. Pedro Albizu Campos, the undersigned has the honor to inform the President of the Medical Association of Porto Rico of the serious matter prompting this communication.

Under the pretext of helping our people to solve public health problems, some time ago there was established in the San Juan, P. R., Presbyterian Hospital a staff of doctors from the Rockefeller Institute, a United States institution working in close cooperation with the government of its country, the United States of North America. Although apparently engaged in the treatment of anemia and malaria patients, it has in fact been working out a plan to exterminate our people by inoculating patients unfortunate enough to go to them with virus of incurable diseases such as cancer.

At the time of the North American invasion, thirty-three years ago, we were a strong and healthy community. Wealth was well distributed, there was work, as well as an abundance of the necessities of life. The country produced almost all it needed. There was practically no public debt. The general government and the municipalities had substantial money reserves to face any crisis. We were in fact a rich people, and happiness was the common heritage of all Porto Ricans and foreigners who had settled here. These facts were recorded in the official reports of the first chiefs of the North American military occupation.

The invading power has ousted Porto Ricans by its own North American nationals. Over 50,000 native landholders have disappeared and at present four North American corporations possess over sixty percent of the total wealth of the country. Scarcely twenty percent of the national heritage remains in the hands of the natives.

The system set up is simple: all public burdens fall on the natives;

North Americans and their business are practically exempted from all public taxes and enjoy a monopoly of privileges. The United States imposed upon Porto Rico their tariffs and practically destroyed our external commerce with other nations. Ours is the sixth largest world market of the United States, averaging nearly $200,000,000 annually. By virtue of this commercial monopoly North Americans impose terms for the buying of our products and the conditions for the sale of their own products.

The mercantile monopoly is backed by the financial monopoly. There is practically no credit for Porto Ricans. Any wealth in their hands becomes immobile to force its sale to North Americans or to destroy it if no North American wishes to acquire it. The United States have mortgaged the country to their own financial interests. The military intervention destroyed agriculture. It changed the country into a huge sugar plantation, compelling it to buy in the most expensive market in the world, namely, the North American market, which forces upon us merchandise not accepted anywhere else, on conditions and prices fixed by the monopoly it enjoys in our country. We depend upon the food the North Americans sell to us. They swamp our market with many products unfit for human consumption and the source of serious diseases. There are no health regulations prohibiting the importation of foodstuffs of such quality and epidemics increase.

The last chief of the military occupation has just reported to his government that over sixty percent of the population is chronically unemployed, without any means for subsistence; that the average wage in the chief industry, to wit, the sugar industry, is $180 a year. This means that sixty percent of the population is doomed to starve. Some cases have already been reported of persons starved to death. This is the first time this happens in our history. The same North American official states that there are 600,000 cases of hookworm and 30,000 cases of tuberculosis in a population of one and a half million.

The North American government evidently looks approvingly upon this triumph of its policy to exterminate our people. Of course, it does not do and will not do anything to remedy the evils it has deliberately created and counsels such measures as will finish the work of extermination and displacement: emigration and birth control.

Emigration is cynically advised while the immigration of its own nationals from the continent and the Virgin Islands is stimulated by all means. More than 6,000 people from those islands have established their homes in Porto Rico, according to the figures furnished by the North American officers themselves, but undoubtedly the number is much higher. The old imperial policy of breaking national unity by displacing the natives with foreigners by culture and tradition to strengthen foreign occupation is repeating itself. The North American government has published the records and figures we have just given above to appear before the world as the protector of its own victims. In this wise it pretends to exhibit us as a mass of hungry beggars unable to survive without North American charity, which, by the way, has never existed for this people.

Although the number of hospitals and doctors has increased, there are more epidemics of malaria, anemia, tuberculosis and other fatal infectious diseases. This is no paradox whatever for impartial observers.

The North American government is repeating in Porto Rico the method of extermination it carried on in the continent against the Indian. It overcame their resistance with arms and deprived them of their means of subsistence. When, towards the close of the nineteenth century, there arose some humanitarian feelings towards the Indians, which made these tactics repugnant, it happened that the Indian race contracted tuberculosis and other devastating diseases. The Hawaiian nation, which has been under the North American empire about as long as we have, is already practically extinct. At the present moment their number is no more than 20,000 and their death rate is the highest on record. Within a short time it will inevitably have disappeared. Evidently unsubmissive people coming under the North American empire, under the shadow of its flag, are taken ill and die.

The facts confirm absolutely a system of extermination. It was hard to believe, however, that resort would be had to the direct inoculation of the virus of incurable diseases, such as cancer, as admitted by Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, a prominent member of the Rockefeller Institute, on a mission in Porto Rico with other fellow doctors from the same Institute. This mission was established, as already said, in the Presbyterian Hospital in this city of San Juan, for the avowed generous purpose of treating persons afflicted with anemia and malaria, when the chief purpose, according to Dr. Rhoads' own confession, was "to hasten the process of extermination."

In this connection we are enclosing herewith a photographic copy of the autographed letter written by Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, and sent from this city of San Juan to a friend of his residing in the United States of North America, and we are also attaching a photographic copy of the instructions signed by the same physician, upon entering the aforesaid hospital, for patients under treatment by the Rockefeller mission. The letter is signed with the nickname "Dusty." The handwriting in the instructions and the letter is the same.

We are likewise appending copy of the affidavit of Luis Baldoni, Jr., who had the privilege to discover this criminal conspiracy against our people.

As these means to impose its empire may be applied by the United States of North America against any other nationality it may want to destroy, the whole world should know them, and for these reasons we denounce them before all nations.

Your obedient servant avails himself of this opportunity to express to the President of the Medical Association of Porto Rico his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) José Lameiro
(Seal) *Secretary to the President*

The letter was a bomb. Introduced as it was by a statement of alleged facts, it enabled its writer to restate for the widest possible circulation other allegations and extravagant charges against the United States in a manner to guarantee the widest publicity elsewhere, and the outraged credulity of Puerto Ricans. The incredulous American colony felt that there must be deception somewhere, or worse. The newly inaugurated Governor Beverley, taking instant cognizance of the matter, designated Dr. Morales Otero, representing the Medical Association of Puerto Rico, and Dr. Gorrido Morales, representing the Department of Health, to assist Prosecuting Attorney Ramon Quiñones to investigate and report.

The publicity organization of the Nationalist party had seen to it that the letter which became a storm center should be sent for news publication in New York and elsewhere. The Washington Government, no less than the Puerto Rican Government, had to take cognizance of the astounding charges and the accompanying interpretation of them. Medical men, zealous to defend the serious devotion of the members of their profession under every circumstance, avowed such possibilities to be impossible. Americans all over the United States were revolted at the charges against themselves and their Government. Obscured as the memory of ephemeral news six years old may be to-day, there can be no doubting the angry comment following the news explosion from Puerto Rico.

The document or letter written by Dr. Rhoads which caused the Nationalists to make public their charge of the extermination program read in part as follows:

"Puerto Rico would be ideal except for the Porto Ricans. They are, beyond doubt, the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere. It makes you sick to inhabit the same island with them. They are even lower than Italians. What the island needs is not public health work but a tidal wave or something to totally exterminate the population. It might then be livable. I have done my best to further the process of extermination by killing off eight and transplanting cancer into several more. The latter has not resulted in any fatalities so far. . . . The matter of consideration for the patients' welfare plays no rôle here—in fact all physicians take delight in the abuse and torture of the unfortunate subjects."

The investigation soon made it clear that the original of the incredible Rhoads utterance, whatever form it had taken, had been in the possession of Albizu Campos for some weeks.

Copies had been made for confidential distribution in certain circles where it could be most readily utilized as a provocative instrument in the creation of a metaphorical earthquake and hurricane. Dr. Rhoads had acknowledged the authorship and accuracy of the written matter, had offered his apologies, and when he sailed for home before the holidays, thought that both the original and all the copies had been destroyed.

When the news "broke," Dr. Rhoads sent a cablegram to Governor Beverley from New York as follows:

"*Times* to-day states you have ordered inquiry into significance of document attributed to me. Regret very much that fantastic and playful composition written entirely for my own diversion and intended as parody on supposed attitude of some American minds in Puerto Rico should have become public document and taken literally by any one. Of course nothing in the document was ever intended to mean other than opposite of what was stated. Nevertheless if slightest seriousness is really attached to any aspect of this subject I will be glad to return to Puerto Rico immediately and place myself at your disposal.—C. P. Rhoads."

What Dr. Rhoads calls "the document," which he says was composed solely for his own diversion, had been written during the early part of November. Drafted in letter form it was addressed to "Dear Ferdie" and was signed "Dusty." The paper on which it was written was later discarded in the wastebasket. From that receptacle it was rescued either by one Luis Baldoni, a technician employed by the Rockefeller Mission which had its headquarters at the Presbyterian Hospital in Santurce, or by an intervening suspicious janitor who placed the fragments in Baldoni's hands. At any rate, Baldoni was the intermediary who delivered the original to Albizu Campos.

Photographic copies of the Rhoads "document," and copies of the letter which Albizu Campos addressed to the President of the Medical Association with its indictment of the United States as a nation, which embodied every literal phrase used by Dr. Rhoads, were sent to the presidents of the various political parties (official party leaders under the island system), to most of the newspapers, and, according to Albizu Campos, to the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, the Pan-American Union at Washington, and its members throughout Central and South America, the Civil Liberties Union with headquarters in New York, and "several" governments. The letters were identical, and although they were signed by José Lameiro, secretary to the President of the Nationalist party, it was generally assumed that Albizu Campos himself was the writer.

How many copies of the Nationalist letter were sent out of Puerto Rico could not be ascertained, but at the party's headquarters it was said that copies had been sent by registered mail to the more distant addresses some weeks before the copies were delivered locally to their recipients in Puerto Rico, by commissions representing the party. Asked why the Rhoads document had not been turned over to the Government authorities for investigation, it was explained that the Nationalist party policy is not to recognize the Government of the island under the United States as legitimately established. This attitude, held then and thereafter, has continued to be the actuality with which the Insular Government and the Federal Government have to deal. Luis Baldoni deferred his appearance before the investigating commission until he could be accompanied by Pedro Albizu Campos as counsel. He said that he turned the Rhoads letter over to the president of the Nationalist party instead of the authorities because he had more confidence in him.

Obviously there was little else to "discover" or "explain." A competent young physician engaged in scientific and benevolent service had indulged in a clumsy expression of his mistaken sense of humor, a jest which his own carelessness and the ill-intentioned entrance of other elements had expanded to cosmic dimensions. No one with a sense of proportion accepted the verities of what Rhoads had written. The American colony disavowed and deprecated. Newspapers at home excoriated the folly of the written word in such usage, where the potentialities of harm were beyond measure. Puerto Ricans in the official life of the island, thoughtful Puerto Ricans, however motivated, knew there was no literal truth in the averments of the Rhoads letter, nor yet in the vicious expression of the Albizu Campos letter of transmission. Physicians and hospital authorities made it clear in every direction that there was no actuality in what the Rhoads document had said, nor any chemical trace of truth in its implications against the medical profession, insular or continental.

The history of the hospitals and their ministrations to thousands of Puerto Ricans were eloquent in evidence. What they could never do was to obliterate the fact that such a harsh judgment upon the Puerto Rican people had been formulated even as an irony, a parody, on "the supposed attitude of some American minds." The sensitive people of the island had something to forgive and forget which still crops up as an offensive weapon in island politics, when the fires of hate are fed by some eloquent demagogue for his own political purposes.

Chapter XVIII

THE SCHOOLS AND THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

IT will be no surprise to those who know the opinionated divergences of theory and of practise in the field of education at home, the controversies that occur, the political elements that enter, to hear that such familiar things appear likewise as commonplaces in Puerto Rico. And yet with such a scant beginning of popular education as the Americans found when the Spanish regime had ended, it might have seemed a simple thing to build an insular school system from the beginning, guided by experience and unhampered by traditions.

The ideal was obvious—a scheme of universal education open to and required of all children, teachers alike skilled and sacrificial, children avid for learning, parents taking pride in the children and welcoming opportunities that had not theretofore existed, schoolhouses in every village, and all this leading those who wished it into cultural or technical education in high schools and an insular university.

Never has that objective been abandoned. Puerto Ricans and continental Americans alike have cherished that purpose. But the practical difficulties in the cost of such a system to an impoverished island, the human difficulties in providing a teaching staff in harmony with the ideal, and the varied interpretations of what was implied in the ideal, have kept the pendulum swinging back and forth in an eccentric arc, with controversial issues and cross-purposes most discouraging at times. The theory and practise of education have collided with insular politics, and objectives have changed from time to time as politicians rose and fell.

Under the Spanish regime, neither the Church nor the Government met its obligations toward the ideal of popular education, although there were gestures and even movements now and then in that direction. Not until 1820 was there a free school for little children, established in San Juan by a young Negro, Rafael Cordero. His name is honored for the noble part he played in that school. He had the teacher's instinct. For forty-eight years boys learned in his school their letters and the rudiments of education which followed. More than one modern school building throughout the island is named for him.

In 1865, there was a theoretical organization of elementary and secondary schools, but ten years later a despotic governor closed them all. The pendulum swung forward and back during the entire nineteenth century. When the Spanish regime ended there were only some twenty-five thousand pupils enrolled in all the island public schools, out of a school-age population of several hundred thousand. The development of church schools in their earliest form went on slowly during that same nineteenth century, with the chief objective the education of boys wishing to study for the priesthood. A seminary on a small scale was opened in 1832 at San Juan, the forerunner of what afterwards became the Seminary College of the Jesuits. Private schools and academies under church auspices were established in the various larger cities of the island, and, finally, in 1882 the Civil Institute of Secondary Education was reorganized. Between 1882 and 1898, only 1,969 students, about 125 annually, attended this, the one public institution granted to the Puerto Ricans during the Spanish regime offering high school and junior college courses.

The facts are better summarized in the estimates that not more than fifteen percent of the population were literate at the time of the American occupation, and not more than one-half of one percent could claim anything beyond an elementary education. Not more than 20,000 children between the ages of five and seventeen were in attendance at all the church, public, and private schools together.

With the least possible delay after the American regime took authority, appropriations began and a Bureau of Education was established by the Department of the Interior at Washington in February, 1899. From a nucleus of almost nothing a generous expenditure of Federal funds and Insular funds throughout the four decades has expanded the school system as rapidly as construction and the supply of teachers made it possible. Public school buildings had to be erected, grades had to be established, text-books written, and teachers sought. A primer, a catechism, and a mental philosophy book for the boys, with religious instruction for the boys and needlework for the girls, had been the only established requirement. The fee system under which teachers collected what tuition they could was abolished, and free education decreed for all Puerto Ricans between the ages of six and eighteen years.

Spanish, English, arithmetic, geography, American history, and civil government were brought into the curriculum to supersede the teaching of church doctrine and religion. High schools, normal schools, and professional schools were provided, in theory, from the very beginning. American teachers were brought to the island to attack the problem of language. This statement of what the school system aimed to be goes far beyond the actualities in its early application. As the military government of the island came to an end with the end of April, 1900, it was found that not more than 38,000 were enrolled out of 322,000 children of school age. Of these 37,000 were doing first and second year work, with only about one thousand in all the rest of the grades beyond the second year. So much for Puerto Rican literacy.

For the years that have passed since civil government was established, the statistical showing is truly astonishing. The number of children of school age entitled to free education and so obligated under the law has risen to 606,000. The actual enrolment in 1936 was 260,576. The discrepancy means that no sufficient provision for school housing and teaching has yet been made. The gain is tremendous but the continuing greater need is still a reproach.

In 1936 there were 5,308 teachers employed in the public schools, in contrast with the 525 teachers in 1898. In 1936 there were 1,836 public school buildings, from small village schools to spacious high schools of the most modern design. School expenditures during the year 1898-99 amounted to $288,098. In the year 1935-36, insular and municipal, they reached a total of $5,324,927. Public school property is valued at nearly $12,000,000, this in an overpopulated island of comparatively small resources and small earnings, with four centuries of illiteracy in the background.

In my own observation of school and university affairs I was interested to find myself more Puerto Rican than the Puerto Ricans themselves in one detail. The text-books used in the public schools seemed to me to fall somewhat short of the possibilities in the subject of history. Too nearly do they follow the proportions of text-books in the schools of the continental United States. The theory has been that since the Puerto Rican children are little Americans they should be taught the same things in the text-books that little Americans are taught.

Fair enough, with some modifications. School-children in our North are reared on the circumstances of the discovery, the period of conquest and settlement, the Revolutionary War and its details of generals and battles, the wars of 1812, 1846, 1861, and 1898, and finally the chapters up to the moment. But it should be realized by this time that the long succession of presidents needs the briefest of citation and dramatization, if they are to be remembered even vaguely by the children we know best. It becomes wasted futility to do more than condense and generalize our wars and their battles, our generals and our presidents for the youngsters of the Puerto Rican schools to whom they can never seem vivid or important. On the other hand, the Puerto Rican school books have neglected unduly the study of Spain in history, and the inexorable circumstances of Spain's decline and fall. Puerto Rican history was the history of Spain for four hundred years, and Puerto Rican children are entitled to an honest picturization of what was happening in their mother country, to react on their island in the expulsion of Spain from the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, an addendum chapter on what has followed in Spain during the forty years since the change of sovereignty might well become a factor of value in establishing accurate concepts among Puerto Ricans while they are still school-children.

It is impossible to summarize the subject of island education without crossing over into the domain of politics. How and when English shall or shall not be taught to the people of the island is both an educational and a political issue. Perhaps there was a time when the matter was regarded as a pedagogical problem, left to the technicians to determine impersonally. If that was ever true it soon moved into the list of political problems.

The present writer cannot presume to judge the matter from the pedagogical point of view. It is possible, however, to review the facts and leave politics to another page. I recall the avidity with which Puerto Ricans in 1898 besought quick and simple lessons in the English language from every American with whom they came in contact. We recognized that desire and applauded it. We foresaw a bilingual island. We exchanged phrases with our Puerto Rican friends, learning better Spanish from them as they learned better English from us. Time was when English-speaking youths came out of the public schools proud of their lingual accomplishments. Puerto Ricans and Americans alike realized that greater opportunities for the islanders lay in their command of two languages. American school-teachers were brought to the island in increasing numbers. American teachers taught Spanish teachers in an exchange of good-will and lessons.

Then came the years when the pendulum swung. Teaching in English—the conducting of schools in the English language—was gradually diminished. School-teachers from the United States were dropped almost as rapidly as they had been sought. Puerto Ricans unqualified to teach English were employed to supersede the teachers from the continental North. The pendulum swung so far that it clearly indicated a ruling policy to get rid of the Americans. To some extent this policy was based on the theory that the good jobs in Puerto Rico should go to needy Puerto Ricans, rather than to North Americans brought in to fill the places. The governing purpose lay deeper than that, however.

The pedagogical argument was the one on which the Insular Department of Education rested its attitude and justified it. There had been much difficulty and some criticism while the experimental methods of teaching English were undergoing their test. Teachers were inexperienced, and the double duty of the English language to serve as a subject for study and likewise as a medium of instruction created problems hard to solve. The Puerto Rican teachers in the primary grades could not establish a proper groundwork for the language with little children who heard no English at home. The pupils came to the grammar grades so ill-prepared in language that the American teachers had to give an undue portion of their time to the teaching of English.

Commissioner of Education Paul G. Miller, in 1917, revised the scheme so that Spanish was given a larger part in the curriculum, and only gradually were the English language and the English teaching of other subjects introduced. The theory was that as the students matured they would be better able to continue their study as a bilingual undertaking. Commissioner Miller's administration was followed by that of Juan B. Huyke, the first Puerto Rican ever to be appointed Commissioner of Education. He was a practical idealist who saw the values in both languages. "The acquisition of English and the conservation of Spanish" became his slogan, and during the thirteen years of these two administrations came the greatest headway in the efficiency of the schools and the bilingual use of the languages.

This, too, was the period of greatest increase in the number of American school-teachers employed. Commissioner Huyke was potent in the encouragement of vocational study in the schools, of such island practicality as agriculture, carpentry, shoe-repairing, basketry and hat-weaving, embroidery, and various home-making subjects and social work. Parent-Teacher associations were organized throughout the island, physical education received increasing attention, and observers found high encouragement in the tendencies that were visible. It was then that the pedagogical pendulum swung again.

A new Commissioner of Education, José Padin, approached the never-ending subject of language teaching for a further consideration. He brought to the island a distinguished committee of counselors from American universities who were invited to recommend the procedure by which the teaching of English might be best carried forward. Recognized authorities in the educational world shared this undertaking, and the results were to be available for Commissioner Padin's guidance in a course of action.

Mr. Padin, however, in scholarly writings in the educational periodicals of the United States, was already setting forth his own point of view, not so much as to how language could best be taught in a bilingual country, but primarily whether and why it should be taught. In other words, politics—even though he may have believed that no partizan bias entered into his consideration. Commissioner Padin reached the conclusion that before the determining of how to teach the English language in Puerto Rico, the objective of that teaching should be determined.

Taking heed of the geographical location of Puerto Rico and its neighbors of Spanish-American origin, he asked whether it was the manifest destiny of Puerto Rico to cherish fellowship with them for business, industrial, cultural, and social life in the Spanish language, with the lines of memory and perhaps also a future running toward peninsular Spain; or if that manifest destiny was to run with the United States, a land of divergent traditions, standards and aspirations.

If the former, he concluded, there should be a concentration upon the business and cultural education by language and otherwise so as to prepare for the fullest entry into that manifest destiny, the study of their common Spanish language being the most elementary and immediate detail. Only such few specialists would need the English language as might find their affairs served thereby. Assuredly even then the relationship with the United States would be valued and maintained in good-will, but not to the impairment of the Spanish equipment by a wasted study of the English language as of any prime importance.

If, on the other hand, Puerto Rican destiny had been so diverted that hereafter it was to run with an Anglo-Saxon civilization, the intensive study of the English language as of underlying importance should be determined upon and concentrated so that all the islanders might find themselves equipped for that citizenship and that life.

These two alternatives, Commissioner Padin argued, should be considered and a choice should be made with as little delay as possible, so as to guide the scholastic program into its least wasteful course. As an academic statement, it was hard to take exception to Dr. Padin's oracular presentation. The entanglement lay in that detail of determining manifest destiny by any process immediately at hand. If it meant a determination by vote, thoughtful critics agreed, it meant precisely nothing at all.

Think what we may of the sober native judgment of the Puerto Rican mass, even those who esteem it most highly would not contend for it the capacity to examine, judge and

- *Above:* "El Morro," historic fortress and castle guarding the entrance to the harbor of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Construction began in 1539 and continued until as recently as 1776, when it was declared finished.
- *Below:* Parade in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who visited Puerto Rico on July 6 and 7, 1934, passing the new Capitol Building and Capitol Plaza, San Juan. In the distance appear the harbor and business section of the city. Opposite the Capitol entrance is the World War Victory Monument and the reviewing stand.

HERIDO EN LA FLORIDA
EN 1521
MURIO DE RESULTAS
A POCO DE LLEGAR A CUBA

- *Left:* Swimming-pool in La Casa de España, built as a center of fellowship between the ancient regime and the new (but still Spanish) elements.

- *Right:* Statue of Ponce de Leon, near the Cathedral of San Juan. In the Cathedral is the determine the distant future or, indeed, its own preferences as to a future. In all probability the island vote on any given subject, in percentages, would not be greatly different after an impassioned general campaign from what it would be after no campaign at all. Impassioned demagoguery on each side and all sides of island issues brings out an augmented vote, of course, but the distribution of it remains in about the same ratio.

With island illiteracy computed as it is, with the means of sound information and counsel in print or by oratory so far from universal, and unhappily with sober, temperate statement almost unheard, no process exists to-day, nor will for many years, by which such a people could intelligently attempt the decision between Dr. Padin's alternative aspirations for the island. Such a decision, whether by plebiscite or by the drawing of lots, in the end would be delegated to a relatively few men, political party leaders, to determine irrevocably for an island whose historic relationship was established forty years ago, to await greater wisdom than is now apparent.

Commissioner Padin himself, in effect, seemed to be making the determination for the people so far as it could be done. There was a rapid change in the attitude of island authority toward the American school-teachers already employed. In substantial number their contracts were not renewed for return to the island. American school superintendents were superseded by Puerto Ricans, and the standards of instruction retrograded. Not only that, but the atmosphere so changed that American teachers, conscious that their positions were dependent and precarious, not upon merit or demerit but upon race, perforce sought positions elsewhere. The number of American teachers employed in the island schools dropped from a peak of 244 in 1925 to a bottom of 75 in 1934. Even in the high schools and in the faculties of the University the same circumstances developed.

An inevitable sequel manifested itself outside the schoolroom walls. What Commissioner Padin had written temperately, in a scholar's words, became journalistic in the vernacular newspapers, and intemperate beyond any presumable intention of his in the wider circles of misinterpretation. There was a new regime dawning. The Americans with the good jobs were outward bound. Puerto Rico was coming into its own.

The members of the American colony found a different ruling spirit in their contacts with many Puerto Ricans—not their personal friends, of course, but the casual strangers with no common interest. It was an unhappy time for thoughtful Puerto Ricans, who had believed that things were moving to a bettered understanding for the common welfare. To-day the English language is not taught, understood, or spoken as widely in the island as it was ten years ago. Those who came out of the public schools ten years ago, generally speaking, had fair command of the language and used their bilingual equipment to their advantage and profit. Those who come out of the public schools to-day have passed through the period of anti-American linguistics, and shake their heads with challenge when they admit that they have no use of English.

It would not be fair to imply a chiding of Puerto Ricans for their failure to learn the English language on their own initiative, for their own profit, without noting another delinquency, even though it be parenthetical. The American colony numbers about one to every thousand Puerto Ricans. The Spanish language—perhaps the easiest of all languages to be acquired—is all around them. They themselves are assuredly possessed of more opportunity and capacity to learn, more realization of the value of learning, than the mass of Puerto Ricans. And yet most of them have but indifferent use of Spanish.

They generally know enough to pick out news from the daily papers, enough to get about the country and deal with the problems of food and shelter, distance and direction, the current needs and the simple amenities. When it comes to a real linguistic command, a large vocabulary or the modes and tenses—the refinements of meaning which words must convey if people are to understand each other's thought—they are almost as groping and shy as the Puerto Ricans themselves, with far less excuse.

Chapter XIX

THE MAKING OF A UNIVERSITY

THE University of Puerto Rico has experienced its own swings of the controversial pendulum as successive chancellors have expressed themselves through their administration. The institution in theory and form holds a similar position to that of various midwestern State universities, supported by public funds and by the pride of their alumni and the States to which they contribute distinction. Also like some of these, the colleges of the University of Puerto Rico are centered in two cities rather than one, so that there is a division of the organized work among various faculties, with two student bodies and two loyalties and rivalries.

The administration of the University is established at Rio Piedras, a suburban city seven and a half miles southeast of the capital, on the military road, with a suburban busline which serves passengers on that busy thoroughfare via Santurce. Here is the beautiful campus, which may be expanded at will, thanks to the University ownership of a 165-acre tract. Here are the impressive buildings of the institution and the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Education, Law, Pharmacy, and Business Administration. The School of Tropical Medicine, which is one of the colleges of the University, occupies its own buildings and grounds in San Juan. The College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts is situated in the outskirts of Mayagüez, at the west end of the island.

The University had its beginning through the impulse of scholarly members of the Atheneum and the Civil Institute, although they were never able to assemble sufficient resources either in money, students, faculties, or equipment to establish a real college. Not until after the American regime was established was it possible to begin the founding of an institution of true collegiate rank.

The first normal school was opened in Fajardo on October 1, 1900. This was removed to the capital on October 1, 1901, and on May 30, 1902, it was installed in its permanent home, the first building erected on what is now the University campus. Inspired by this beginning, the Legislative Assembly on March 12, 1903, passed a law establishing the University of Puerto Rico, and construction work began.

An agricultural department was soon established at Rio Piedras, with students first admitted on February 3, 1905. In 1908 the Government of the United States made applicable to Puerto Rico the provisions of the Morrill Fund which established it as a "land-grant" college. Consequent upon this, a Reserve Officers Training Corps for students was established, with an army officer detailed as commander and instructor. Provision was made for the transfer of the Insular Experiment Stations to the College of Agriculture in accordance with the usual practise in the United States. An annual Federal appropriation of substantial amount thereupon became a part of the resources.

With the establishment of the College of Liberal Arts, now the College of Arts and Sciences, in 1910, and the removal of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts to Mayagüez in 1911, the University was in position to develop along modern educational lines as adapted to Puerto Rican needs. The College of Law and the College of Pharmacy were established at Rio Piedras in 1913. The graduation of the first class at Mayagüez occurred in June, 1915, and two years later the graduation of the first class of the College of Liberal Arts at Rio Piedras.

The faculties and administrative officers now number some 450 in all the colleges. The roster of students enrolled at Rio

Piedras and Mayagüez approximates 4,000, without including extension courses, evening classes in Business Administration, and such other expansions outside of true collegiate work. Physically and in the visible expression of student life and activity the Rio Piedras campus and the Mayagüez campus are reminiscent of the typical American college rather than the ancient universities of Spain.

The University of Puerto Rico is governed by a Board of Trustees of which the Commissioner of Education is chairman ex-officio. It must be remembered that the Commissioner of Education is one of the two insular Department executives who are appointed by the President of the United States. The Commissioner of Agriculture and Commerce is also a member ex-officio. He, too, is the head of an Executive Department in the Insular Government, an appointee of the Governor to that office. Legislative representation in the Board is held by one Senator and one Representative, appointed by the Governor on recommendation of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, respectively. The remaining six members are required by law to be persons of recognized ability in the sciences, letters, or arts, appointed by the Governor, and confirmed by the Senate. Two of these must be graduates of the University of Puerto Rico, and another must be recommended by the Board of Government of the Pan-American Union.

It will be observed that the United States Federal Government, the Insular Government, the alumni, and the international institution which we know as the Pan-American Union are all represented in the governing authority of the University. The Chancellor is appointed by the Board of Trustees "for an indefinite period of time, in the discretion of the Board," and is the executive head of the University.

Two stormy periods are recorded, one revolving around internal University politics, and the other around the recurrent language problem.

Chancellor Thomas Eliot Benner, a Harvard professor who held that office from 1924 to 1929, and has gained his greater recognition since then as Professor of College Administration at Columbia, and Dean of the College of Education of the University of Illinois, ran counter to certain desires of Senator Antonio R. Barcelo, sometime President of the Insular Senate, and long-time President of the Union party of Puerto Rico.

Mr. Barcelo was for so long the dominant political figure of Puerto Rico, and of such admitted distinction, that Chancellor Benner had been able to arrange the granting of a Columbia degree to him—and years afterward the University of Puerto Rico reciprocated by a degree to President Nicholas Murray Butler. The good-will was beyond all doubt. But as the island story has it, when Chancellor Benner declined to capitulate on an academic detail in which a matter of principle was involved, at variance with President Barcelo's mandate, he was summarily dismissed from his distinguished educational position on twenty-four hours' notice—and Columbia showed its opinion by his instant appointment as Professor of College Administration in Teachers College! There we have a near test of the issue between an irresistible force and an immovable body.

Chancellor Benner's term came to its abrupt end in 1929. In 1930 he was succeeded by Dr. Carlos Eugenio Chardon who had already served as Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. Educated in the University of Puerto Rico and at Cornell, he was regarded as an expert in the chemistry of agriculture, particularly as a sugar technologist.

This appointment practically coincided in point of time with that of Dr. Padin as Commissioner of Education. Dr. Padin was a graduate of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, from which he had also received an honorary degree. He had done graduate work at Columbia University, had served in the public school system of the island as superintendent at Guayama and as insular superintendent of schools, and had been the Spanish editor of an American publishing house specializing in text-books.

To Dr. Chardon in his new post, held coincidentally with that of Dr. Padin in his, it fell to cooperate with the policy of the Commissioner of Education toward the English language, and the American teachers in the public school system and professors in the University faculty. Friends of the educational regime thus initiated speak with praise of the Padin-Chardon period. As to the English language itself, or, rather, its place in the schools, they point to a report made by the visiting committee from the United States. This committee reported along the very lines of Chancellor Padin's policy, and confirmed the pedagogical wisdom of his theories. They contend that both Commissioner Padin and Chancellor Chardon were men of enlightened scholastic vision, devoted to the island welfare, and criticized only by the political opposition.

Critics of the Padin-Chardon regime are more severe. They declare that the entire public school system and university retrograded during those years, while a political machine was built with little regard to the actual welfare of the schools or the enlightened future of the island. This was a period of anti-Americanism, carefully fostered, say they, a sorry interruption in the era of good feeling and upbuilding of better understandings and relationships.

It is hard for the inquirer to obtain a set of undisputed facts upon which to base judgment, and it would be presumptuous to speak with finality. It is possible to say, however, that the sharp divergences of opinion prove the issues to have been largely political. We have some knowledge at home of the harm that can be done by political intrusion into schools and universities, and we may deplore such happenings when we see them elsewhere.

Commissioner Padin has gone back to his position in the text-book publishing business, a striking citation to prove the value of bilingual education. Chancellor Chardon obtained leave of absence to enter the service of the Puerto Rican Rehabilitation Administration as resident director. After a comparatively brief term of office his connection terminated, and his position as chancellor likewise came to an end. His technical equipment as a sugar chemist offered opportunities in South America which established him there, at least temporarily. The insular school system and the University fell temporarily under the administration of an Acting Commissioner and an Acting Chancellor, at which point matters educational once more had to be untangled from matters political.

The men with cultural education who kept the torch lighted through the difficult years of the Spanish regime, and who took hope for the future when the new regime began, were idealists with a vision. This vision was that Puerto Rico was to become the Caribbean outpost of the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the North, and its meeting-place with the Hispanic civilization of Central and South America, where philosophy, culture and business should meet, understand, and interchange.

Nearly fifteen years ago, Dr. E. Fernandez Garcia, editor of *El Libro de Puerto Rico,* in summarizing the possibilities said in part: "An international university with a faculty formed of men of the highest, most modern mental training and the sterling character of both Americas; one with a wide program in Spanish and English for scientific, literary and professional study, such an institution would naturally be one of the strongest forces toward the welding of the two Americas. The international university, promoting real friendship among the men who would be leaders of public opinion in their countries, would undoubtedly be the most sure and efficient means of facilitating the exchange of interests, of good feeling, and of education between the two Americas, thus obtaining as near as possible the greatest unity of action and of thought as regards the solution of world problems.

"Such an international university finds its natural theater in Puerto Rico. Populated by the same type of men who conquered and peopled Latin America, in this island which for nearly a quarter century has been under the favorable influence of the community founded by the Puritans, the student from the South as well as from the North would not feel homesick, because just as the first meets the people who are the same as his own, who speak his language, have the same customs and above all are like himself, amiable and hospitable, the latter finds not alone his language, his spirit of progress and many of his customs, but also a large number of his countrymen comfortably established under the folds of the Stars and Stripes.

"Besides her favored position between the two great Columbian continents, her ideal climate, excellent health conditions, and her natural salubrity, Puerto Rico counts for the better success of such an educational work on her appropriate environment and adequate material—a bilingual and intelligent population. All these justify Puerto Rico's aspirations to be the intellectual beacon in mid-Atlantic, to light the moral route of the interchange of ideals, good feeling and lasting happiness between her kin people of blood in the South and her co-citizens of the Stars and Stripes in the North."

There has always been an affirmative attitude toward this broad aspiration. It ranked as a mere counsel of perfection in the estimation of many who prided themselves as practical men, but the concept was certainly a worthy one and sufficiently grandiose and theatrical to captivate a theatrical people. It has been restated and reapproved as an objective to the present day, including, even, that recent period when anti-Americanism was most prevalent and vociferous.

Even now the University of Puerto Rico offers fuller courses in the Spanish language and literature than does any of the higher institutions of learning in English-speaking America, and at the same time fuller courses in the English language and literature than does any similar institution in the Spanish-speaking western world.

During Chancellor Chardon's leave of absence from the University, and his temporarily influential part in the allocation of Federal funds assigned to relief work in Puerto Rico, he was actively instrumental in the generous building plans by which the University campus at Rio Piedras was enriched. A building program including reconstruction and new construction to a total of nearly three and one-half million dollars, added to the existing structures, has all but completed one of the finest university plants in all Latin America.

No visitor can fail to be impressed by the comprehensive building plan and its execution. The requirements of administration, classrooms, dormitories, laboratories, a library, a gymnasium, an athletic stadium and grandstand, an auditorium which is in effect a splendid theater, a distinguished entrance, and a 160-foot campanile with chimes and a great clock have been excellently provided. Architectural use has been made of the prior existing buildings, harmonizing the whole by connecting arcades, *patios*, and a great central court. The architects have made excellent use of the Hispano-Moorish motive so that there is an essential fitness of structure as well as beauty and practicality.

Here again critics express themselves with fervor. They complain of the wastefulness of what has been called a $45,000 fence along the campus front. Likewise, they aver that surplus buildings have been erected, with insufficient resources in sight to put them into use for lack of furnishings and equipment, this where so much was needed for the poor, where schoolhouses were so sorely lacking, and where the student body itself was creating new problems in its ill-digested political outgivings.

Such critics ask for a better faculty better paid, and more fellowship between the administration and the teaching force, under the contention that a real teacher and an aspiring student are the two true essentials of any university. They wish for a smaller student list, cut down by the raising of the standards for entrance and by a requiring that collegiate work shall be faithfully done—fewer and better students. Only by a more rigorous application of such more exacting standards can the University of Puerto Rico place itself in full fellowship with continental universities, or even look in the direction of the Pan-American university.

The University of Puerto Rico, after the habit of such institutions, fulfils functions far beyond the obvious ones of undergraduate life and graduate schools. Owing its support to the island people through the island treasury, it recognizes obligations to a much wider group than the resident student body. Extension work in agriculture and home economics is widely offered throughout the island. Nine demonstration farms are maintained. Throughout the island extramural courses are given, public conferences held on matters of economic and other interest, widely attended by adults, and intercollegiate debates are held in various cities between the debating team of the University of Puerto Rico and visiting teams from continental colleges. The skeleton structure and the physical facilities exist. The faculties, the students and the graduates must be the ultimate test of value.

After an interval with the office unfilled, Professor Juan B. Soto, theretofore head of the Department of Philosophy in the University faculty, was appointed Chancellor, effective with the beginning of the collegiate year of 1936. Chancellor Soto had been active in the practise of law in San Juan following his scholastic education at the Civil Institute, with a later honorary doctorate in Philosophy, Literature, and Law from the University of Madrid. In the opportunities for acquaintance that developed, it became apparent to the writer that Chancellor Soto was possessed of the same hope that others have voiced for Puerto Rico—that the island and the University should become an instrumentality for the establishing of good-will. He sensed the values inherent in both civilizations, and the imperative need of better understanding between them. He believed in the possibility, not too speedily expected, of a University of Puerto Rico to which great numbers of students might come alike from the United States and from the South American republics.

He hoped to establish more definite and intimate contact with the administration and the faculty of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Mayagüez. Somewhat neglected in observation because of its distance from the Rio Piedras campus, he sensed its high value to the island and its large student body, and aimed to have more frequent observations there. Notable new buildings and other improvements on the Mayagüez campus would enable higher standards to be enforced, as the faculty had long desired. He hoped for closer relationship between the administrations and the faculties of the various colleges.

The University of Puerto Rico should lift its standards of admission and of scholastic work as fast as possible so as to rank in full standing with the universities and colleges of the United States. The student body should demonstrate more maturity of thought and conduct, regarding its scholastic obligations as superior to its restlessness and its political obligations —or exhibitions!

Chancellor Soto spoke without reticence, and with manifestly serious realization of the responsibilities to be confronted. With his background of legal education and philosophy, the Chancellor is also realistic enough to recognize the difficulties, if the more ambitious concept of the University of Puerto Rico is to persist.

In the fall of 1937, the University found itself confronting the extending problem of the insular overpopulation. With 1,800 freshmen, the largest registration in the history of the institution, the rolls were closed against 300 additional applicants, rejected because of lack of room. It would be fine if colleges could winnow out all except those whose aspiration is really educational, but institutions have never been able to exercise such a degree of wisdom so early in the student life. It is believed that Chancellor Soto aims to apply more rigorous standards, which will require better work and better grades in each successive class if the student career is to survive for the next. There seems to have been a latitude through prior years that permitted low grades to be overlooked too often, so as to retain "deserving" students on the rolls. If Chancellor Soto can so uplift and establish the University standards it will be a noble accomplishment, and the time will come when the graduates will be widely known also as scholars.

It is an unhappy fact in Puerto Rico, as in every American community, that during the recent years of depression relatively few of the youthful graduates have been able to find employment in the work which they have prepared themselves to do. The University turns out more graduates for "white-collar jobs" than the island can possibly absorb in its employment requirements. The sugar industry needs its annual replenishment of engineers and chemists, the professional schools, like the technical schools, find some of their graduates in demand; but the overpopulated, overmanned, overstaffed island must find some way to absorb the qualified graduates or they must seek employment elsewhere.

The University building program financed by PRRA was finished on a grandiloquent scale, and the quarters made ready for distinguished scholastic work. An unfortunate impasse followed. Building construction with PRRA funds to relieve classroom congestion was all right, but such money, under the law, could not be applied to the purchase of furnishings and equipment.

An appropriation was made by the insular legislature to equip the new classrooms and for other furnishings, but this appropriation was disapproved by Governor Winship, and killed by pocket-veto. Governor Winship took heed of the fact that nearly 300,000 children of school age are unable to attend school in Puerto Rico because there is no room for them, and he believed that the legislature was unjustified in this expenditure for the University in the face of that fact.

If in the light of all the attendant circumstances Chancellor Soto is able to lift the standards of the University and hold those standards unimpaired against personal and political pressure; if he can establish self-discipline among the young men and young women of the institution, real discipline and a maturity of mind and action; if he can link to the University and to himself a sacrificial, idealistic, cultural group of professors, a faculty of heart and of imagination, the noteworthy buildings so generously provided will be centers of light and learning, becoming a true university which may aspire to any future greatness.

Chapter XX

POLITICS AND STATESMANSHIP

ISLAND politics finds its focal point under the dome of the new capitol building, a mile or so from the executive mansion. American governors occupy the ancient residence of the Spanish captains-general which had been the seat of all authority for centuries. Little need under that regime to find housing for an elected legislature. It is not strange that the Puerto Rican legislators chose to make a place for their official duties on a generous scale. There was worthy significance in the impulse.

No one can gainsay the fact that the capitol is an impressive structure. It stands in majesty on its own hilltop, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean to the north and the San Juan harbor and mountain background to the south. Landscape architects and engineers have shared in planning the approaches, the parkways, and the plantage which will someday create luxuriant beauty in the surrounding grounds. The steps of the capitol are adaptable for ceremonial public affairs, with room for multitudes to see and hear. It is a place for pageantry, where history that is past may be depicted and where history is appropriately in the making. To the west it overlooks San Cristobal fortress and the ancient city, to the south the harbor front with its activities or shipping and trade, and to the east the expanding newer suburbs. From almost every place where there is outlook unrestricted this capitol lifts itself against the skyline.

In most estimations the marvel lies in the fact that in such a place as this tropical island, with its wealth of history, romance, and exotic life, its inheritance of Spanish and Moorish architecture so rich in forms of beauty in design and color, this white marble structure of pseudo-classical type should have been so unfittingly erected. There rises the capitol, built almost as imperishably as the rocky hill on which it stands, an eternal monumental incongruity, sadly durable! State capitols are scattered all over the United States which gropingly imitate the capitol at Washington, and worse or better classical structures, as seats of government. By that comparison the Puerto Rico capitol is just another such, no better and no worse except as it is to be regretted as a lost opportunity. The millions of dollars it cost—carelessly stated all the way from four million to forty million and actually less, to date, than the first figure —had to be spent just at the time of highest building costs, followed by the worst of the depression. The inevitable result was that the building remains unfinished.

Both houses of the Legislature make use of their spacious halls and the adjacent committee rooms. The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico has its courtroom, chambers and library in well-planned quarters. A few of the insular officials have office space. But the furnishings are temporary, the walls of plastered white, and the rest of the impressive interior, including the vaulted dome and all its truly fine architectural features, an interrupted exposure of hollow tile, unfinished carpentry, concrete and mortar left almost as the workmen dropped their tools a few years ago. When it will be completed, and at what cost, nobody knows. Certainly heavy appropriations from the insular treasury cannot be made from tax levies upon an island still impoverished, where millions must still be spent in relief work, and where more than 300,000 children have neither schoolhouses nor school-teachers.

The visible facts are bad enough without the injustice of traveler's tales that are not true. Probably starting with some cynic's remark that the capitol must be a copy of some prairie-state capitol in the Mississippi Valley, came the story that still persists. It is told—and too many tourists believe it—that the architect of the building, unfamiliar with the tropics, made provision for an elaborate heating system with furnaces, steam radiators, and all the winter gadgets that would be needed in North Dakota.

Several hundred thousand dollars were thus spent, so the story goes, before any one noticed what was going on, and then came the necessity to cover up and forget the horrid truth, so that neither blame nor ridicule should make life intolerable for the blunderers. The story seems destined to be told for many a day, but only the credulous now treat it seriously.

It was my good fortune to attend various sessions of the Legislature, and to meet a considerable number of the members of both houses, party leaders and their associates. The forms and procedure were so nearly the same as those of various State legislatures with which I was familiar as to appear quite natural—the same lag in actual work, the same delays in the early weeks of the session and the mad haste to catch up with neglected work at the end, the speeches made for their effect upon constituents and the speeches that were really informative and heard with respect by all, the committee manipulations, and the impotence of individual legislators out of favor with their party leaders, the striving for partizan advantage mingled with manifestly high standards of ability and foresight.

I heard such measures debated as those bearing upon birth-control legislation, appropriations for the public school system and its enlargement, additional appropriations for the University, and other matters of major importance. I heard men who seemed to me to be statesmen, members of all parties, sharply in opposition. The only thing that struck me as a novel characteristic was the acrid personal equation as between member and member of opposition party affiliations. If I found myself introduced to a Senator or a Representative as a visiting stranger, and the resulting conversation called for mention of another legislator of other party affiliation, I might soon be listening to a denunciation of that opponent for his ignorance, or his bad faith, or his venal motives. There was an open frankness of attack upon legislative colleagues of opposition parties far more bitter than one finds in our northern legislative halls, where personal friendships are not limited to party affiliates.

The various religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church which are represented in Puerto Rico, Augustinians, Carmelites, Capuchins, Dominicans, Lazarists, and Redemptorists, and the other Catholic Church organizations, render their varied services to the island and to those who adhere to their faith. However they may differ in the duties they perform, they seem to be at one in their attitude toward the matter of overpopulation, and legislation which undertakes to consider that subject. With all the organized strength that it can assemble the church has endeavored to prevent enactment of such legislation or even the consideration of it.

The course of events during the last few years of agitation upon the subject indicates that Roman Catholic though it is by profession, almost to unanimity, Puerto Rico is by no means as amenable to the leadership, commands, or rebukes of the church as are some others of the Spanish-American republics. The most antagonistic critic of church influence in the affairs of mankind would not regard Puerto Rico as "priest-ridden." The island is still regarded as a mission field, due to receive funds from without rather than to contribute for gift elsewhere. The Puerto Rican man in considerable number has his religion in his wife's name.

The fact that legislation regarding birth-control could pass both houses of the Insular Legislature, in the face of the mandate of the church, becomes highly significant. Whether by fortuitous strategy or sudden requirement, Governor Winship's airplane journey to Washington for consultation with the President and the Secretary of the Interior on various island matters came exactly at the time to leave the newly enacted legislation on his vacant desk.

The Acting Governor, Attorney-General B. Fernandez Garcia, had the problem to confront, and after hearings and earnest opposition from the highest church functionaries urging the veto, he signed the act and it became a law. It was an enactment of the Puerto Rican legislature, an elective body representing the Puerto Rican people, and it was signed by a Puerto Rican Acting Governor. It has been a long fight, and it might yet be renewed in a fight for repeal. But church authority suffered a defeat, and legislation of wider scope rather than repeal is predicted.

I was favored in receiving the hospitality of the Father Superior of one of the more active religious orders in the house where he and his priests and assistants reside, accompanied by an American friend who is also a faithful Roman Catholic. The church house is a spacious structure and the priests in residence are Americans serving in this territory each for a period of years before transfer elsewhere. They are spirited, educated and devoted young men, zealous in the work assigned to them, interested in the exotic conditions of Puerto Rico, and manifesting opinions not unlike my own on most of the questions that arose for conversation. Finally I said to the senior priest in authority, "Is it proper for a friendly non-Catholic to broach the subject of overpopulation and its remedy? I am anxious to know your attitude toward the circumstances that exist and your solution of the problem which is commanding such imperative attention."

"Certainly it is proper," he replied, with complete cordiality. "But you will have to reframe the inquiry. No subject is forbidden, no subject is improper, but the circumstances are not as you understand them."

"Well, I am merely groping my way. I know the ratio of the increase of population in Puerto Rico. Roughly speaking, there were about 200,000 inhabitants of the island a hundred years ago. By 1898 the population had more than doubled twice to reach 900,000. By this time it has nearly doubled again to reach a possible total of 1,800,000. The birth rate does not diminish and the death rate is steadily reduced as sanitation and care preserve more lives. The island gets no larger. I am told by the men who know, that in this agricultural island, with no considerable natural resources upon which to build other industries to absorb industrial wage labor, the total area of arable land is reckoned as only seven-tenths of one acre per capita. That area cannot be substantially increased. Those are the factors of the equation on which I based my inquiry."

The Father Superior looked me straight in the eye, his young priests and my young friend listening with close attention.

"There are essential fallacies in that statement," he rejoined most graciously. "Great areas of Puerto Rico not now characterized as arable land can be brought into productivity. Agricultural technique can be perfected so that arable acres, handled intensively for high-priced specialized crops can earn subsistence and earn money increasingly for an increased population. Industries will undoubtedly be developed from such natural resources as exist, supplemented by other materials that can be brought in from adjacent islands such as Cuba and Santo Domingo.

"Immigration to the United States can take care of an increasing overflow, if such there should be. Sparsely settled islands of the Caribbean, particularly Santo Domingo, and other Spanish-American countries of kindred climate and population, can absorb great numbers of immigrants without crowding. These suggestions point out the fallacy under which it is argued that there is overpopulation, except what will be naturally and normally balanced.

"But if there were no manifest fallacies, it would still be an unrighteous tampering with the most sacred relationships to attempt intrusive legislation. All we have a right to do or to permit is to go on with life as mankind was commanded, and leave the rest to God."

The foregoing was not at first an uninterrupted presentation of a point of view. But soon I silenced my own interpolations as futilities, and listened respectfully to the end. I felt that I had heard a frank formulation of the attitude of the church, and there it was, beyond argument or rejoinder of mine.

Governor Blanton Winship, appointed by President Roosevelt as of February 5, 1934, succeeded to the office after an interregnum with Benjamin J. Horton, Attorney-General, as Acting Governor, and an unfortunate period of predecessors in the governorship. The bare six months' incumbency of Governor Gore between his appointment by President Hoover on July 1, 1932, and his resignation, coincided with the increase of island difficulties on a forbidding scale. While Governor Winship soon found the financial condition of the insular government showing improvement as a result of economies, the economic situation throughout the island was extremely discouraging. As of October 10, 1934, he reported that "the number of unemployed has steadily increased and the situation in this respect is probably the worst in the history of the island." The Governor found slum settlements on the increase, 35 percent of the island's population receiving either direct or indirect relief from the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration, and abnormal poverty and distress in evidence in every city, town and village.

But amelioration had begun. PRERA began work on August 19, 1933, with an allotment of $200,000 per month from the Federal Government, to be augmented by $100,000 per month from the island treasury. The giving of direct relief and work relief was started immediately, and an organization covering the entire island was formed before September first. At the end of the first year's operation more than $7,000,000 had been spent on relief, and work had been given to more than 100,000 families.

A disturbing detail appearing in the report of the insular Department of Health showed that the death rate had increased from 20.4 per thousand population in 1931 to 22.6 per thousand for the year 1933. On the other hand the birth rate on the island per thousand population showed a decrease from 41.7 in 1931 to 38.0 in 1933. Tuberculosis, malaria, hookworm and diarrhea continued to be responsible to a large extent for the excessively high death rate. The death rate from tuberculosis had increased to a maximum of 337 per one hundred thousand population during the year 1933, more than four times the rate from this disease in the United States.

The Governor did not ignore the facts or the fundamentals in his successive messages. In his message of February 12, 1935, he urged legislation, thereafter enacted, to restrict the sale and possession of firearms. Following that recommendation he says: "Capital punishment was abolished in Puerto Rico in 1929. There has been a great increase since that date in the number of crimes against persons, including murders, homicide, attempts to kill. The total penal population of Puerto Rico on June 30, 1934, numbered 2,804, of whom 264 had been convicted of murder and 245 of manslaughter or homicide. But these figures by no means give a complete idea of the prevalence of crimes of violence. Police records show that 174 arrests were made for such crimes in the year before the abolition of the death penalty, and the year thereafter the number jumped to 268 and has steadily increased until in 1933-34 it reached 430. This alarming situation requires legislative action to curb the increasing tendency to crimes involving the death of human beings."

In his annual report for 1935 he said: "Wages for labor in Puerto Rico continue to be too low. The details given in the annual report of the Commissioner of Labor show that out of 70,395 workers included in his investigations 38,097 or about 54 percent received wages of about ten cents per hour and under. This means that under a standard of eight hours a day for six days, 54 percent of the workers are receiving less than 88 cents a day and less than $5.28 a week. Most of them are men with families. In the next wage-bracket 22,152 workers, or about 31 percent, received wages of from 11 to 20 cents per hour, and only 1,090, or about 1 percent, received wages of 40 cents or more per hour."

Governor Winship's frankness as to the source and use of relief funds was illuminating. In his message of February 11, 1936, he says: "Our major help in these calamitous times has continued to come from the United States Government through the activities of the divers Federal relief agencies which have been operating among us for more than two years. But for this the mass of our people would have been in desperate circumstances. In spite of this generosity I am sorry to report that full justice has not been done Puerto Rico in the allotment of funds out of the thirteen billion dollars appropriated by Congress in the fiscal years 1933-34 and 1934-35 for the purposes of relief and the construction of public works in the states, territories, and possessions. Whether this money is distributed on the basis of population or on any other basis, the share to which Puerto Rico is entitled should be much larger than the amount so far received by us. Careful computations show that our share should have been 1.27 percent of the total amount, but it has been only one-third of one percent. I have made and will continue to make strenuous efforts to have this wrong righted."

The fiscal year 1936 was noteworthy in that the language question seemed on the way to be answered more hopefully. As recommended by the Governor, the Legislature created 200 positions for teachers of English, or twice as many as during the previous year. The pendulum was swinging again from the low point in its arc toward the spirit of that earlier day when the school system cherished the opportunity to become bilingual.

With the beginning of 1937, optimism began to prevail. The Governor's message of February 9 to the new Legislature's first session says, "It is gratifying to advise you that the island is rapidly recovering from the distressed conditions under which it has labored for several years. There were special reasons why Puerto Rico should feel the effects of the depression as keenly as other geographical sections of the nation and more keenly than might otherwise have been the case. These were the lower price paid for Puerto Rican produce, and the destruction of property caused by the hurricane of 1928, one year before the financial crash of October, 1929. This destruction of almost twenty-five percent of all property on the island was further aggravated by the additional losses of the cyclone of 1932. But for the effects of these two hurricanes it is probable that Puerto Rico would have easily weathered the economic and financial storm.

"That the island's former prosperity is being regained and may be surpassed in the near future appears evident not only from casual observation of business conditions but also from a study of the facts and figures of our overseas trade. The chief factor in this restoration of prosperity is the extraordinary revival of the sugar industry, chief one of the island, brought about by the rise in the price of sugar. This was undoubtedly due to the beneficial policy of sugar quotas established by the AAA and the generous expenditure of the PRERA first and later by the PRRA for the relief of our people and for the economic reconstruction of the island.

"At the beginning of 1937, the thirty-ninth year after the American occupation of the island, we find progress accomplished that is startling to those who questioned the wisdom of the confidence placed in us by the Congress, and full of satisfaction for those who expected nothing but success. There has been steady advancement since the inauguration of civil government. Object lessons have taught us that the plan of the United States is to educate, to impart lessons of self-help, and to build up a government according to the highest standards of American institutions."

Chapter XXI

TROPICAL AGRICULTURE HAS ITS PROBLEMS

WITH Puerto Rico so completely dependent upon agriculture for its prosperity, it is not surprising that every enlightened study of island problems has concentrated upon scientific agriculture practically applied. Federal and insular governments have been similarly committed to that policy, Washington as truly as San Juan. There is work enough for both without jealousies, duplications or encroachments.

Almost all Puerto Rican problems are economic at their base. The crowded population and the lack of other basic industries throw an undue burden upon the soil to produce each year's earned income upon which the island must live. The principal crops are seasonal in their demand for labor. Constructive students, therefore, have always faced the problem of how to make a larger part of the island land arable, how to turn all arable land to profitable production, and how to find employment for workers during those parts of the year when there is least demand for labor on the land. Problems of soil conservation, marketing, subsistence crops and cash crops are all parts of the same study.

What was done during the Spanish regime in the interest of agriculture comes first for the record, even if it is all but forgotten. By order of King Ferdinand, some time prior to 1516, the first agricultural experiment station was founded in Puerto Rico. An agricultural grange was established at the mouth of the Toa River where the colonists might experiment with European crops. Spanish laborers were put to work cultivating fruits, grains and vegetables brought from Spain and the Canary

Islands, to be used for example and precept to the colonists. King Ferdinand's death left the undertaking without royal support and it did not long continue. Nevertheless, the livestock, trees, vegetables and fruits that became subsistence crops then, were pioneers in the productivity of the fertile island.

It was more than three hundred years later before any serious attention was paid to the introduction of other tropical plants as a result of government assistance. A society was formed in Ponce, to do helpful work in connection with agricultural studies and even to organize an agricultural fair. A petition was granted by the Crown for the establishment of two agricultural stations in Puerto Rico, one in Rio Piedras and the other in Mayagüez. These began to operate about 1891. It is interesting to note that these two locations were chosen for the establishing of the work at the same towns where the University now has its colleges. The annual budget for maintenance was scanty, however, finally reaching $12,500 in 1894 for the work of both the stations. Their work was not without value. Technical men even to-day give much respect to the efforts made during the last half of the nineteenth century in the study of soil rebuilding, fertilizers, sugar-cane disease, irrigation, forage crops, and the economic use of market crops for export.

After the establishment of the American regime the Sugar Producers' Association was formed, which still survives in activity to represent the special interests participating. An early step for that organization was to establish an experiment station in 1910 for technical and scientific study of the industry. In 1914 the Association of Sugar Producers turned over its experiment station to the government of Puerto Rico on condition that it should distribute annually among the sugar planters of the island not less than three hundred tons of seed of selected sugar-cane varieties.

In 1933 it was transferred to the University of Puerto Rico, the University operating its own agricultural experiment station in connection with the College of Agriculture and Mechanic

Arts at Mayagüez. The college farm is located near the campus. The Agricultural Extension Service, like the Insular Experiment Station, obtains its financial support on the one hand from the government of Puerto Rico and on the other hand by appropriations from Washington under the provision of various Federal acts for the support of experimental work in agricultural science.

The Federal Experiment Station at Mayagüez has an agricultural history of its own. In location it is the next-door neighbor and on friendly relations with the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, on the same picturesque hilltop overlooking the city, and with adjacent avenues of royal palms leading to the buildings of the respective institutions. The college is an educational institution for young men and young women, with its college farm and its experiment station natural parts of the laboratory equipment of such an institution on a comprehensive scale. The Federal Experiment Station, however, although entirely cooperative with its neighbor, is an instrumentality of the United States, conducted by the Department of Agriculture, and committed to the authority of a resident director and his scientific staff.

The buildings of this institution become a research and test laboratory, just as is its acreage, for the trying-out of every reasonable problem of tropical agriculture. Its staff has been assembled by selection from specialists in technical agricultural science, men who combine scholarship in the varied divisions of scientific agriculture with practicality and experience. Director Atherton Lee has had years of specialized experience in California, Hawaii, Japan, China, and the Philippine Islands. One member of the expert staff may come from Madagascar as a specialist in the vanilla bean. One may come from work in Siam, with long experience in the utilization of bamboo, its varieties, its adaptability for varied uses, its pests, and its cultivation, looking toward a profit-making utilization throughout Puerto Rico.

Continuing this latter example, this means also the designing of furniture and other household conveniences to be made literally out of one's own dooryard bamboo-patch, and the making of furniture and utensils so simply or so beautifully that the Puerto Rican hillside farmer and his family can found a household industry on his own acre, improve his own living conditions and create a new earning power for himself.

One scientist on the staff may be at work seeking new and effective insecticides in the realm of fish poisons, and another developing a cotton which the boll-weevil will not attack. Cornfields and cattle-barns, milk production and egg production, expansion of the island dietary by subsistence gardens, with vegetables scientifically selected because they fit the Puerto Rican taste, soil and climate—all such things and countless others fall within the purview of an inspired experiment station such as this. It is one of the instrumentalities of which every American visitor may well be proud, and against which no Puerto Rican voice is ever raised.

The buildings and surroundings of the Station are beautified and made interesting by their plantation. Within two or three acres surrounding the residence, laboratory and office buildings, there is said to be a larger variety of tropical trees, plants and other vegetation, flourishing outdoors as a veritable botanical garden of its own, than can be found in any other spot in the world, so circumscribed.

The buildings themselves, though far from pretentious, are fitting and charming. There is an atmosphere about the Station which makes the place a veritable exemplar as to what can be done in such an institution. Some of the scientific staff are men of long and valued experience, chosen because of what they have learned through years in other remote tropic plantation outposts, halfway 'round the world. Others are young men of high scholarship and intense scientific aspiration, research men with assigned tasks to discover what will produce or what will exterminate, according as they may be dealing with a prize or with a pest.

When Congress appropriated the sum of $15,000 in 1901 to establish and maintain an agricultural experiment station in Puerto Rico, it was little realized how far the value of such a step would extend. That amount of money served to operate the Station for a few years upon rented land in Rio Piedras, but the insular legislature gave $15,000 to finance the purchase of a Station farm, and a systematic search was made for a better location. Various possible sites were examined, until finally the municipality of Mayagüez offered certain concessions and $4,000 for the purchase of a farm satisfactorily adapted to the purpose.

One of the most striking episodes in the history of the American regime revolves around the Federal Experiment Station. The move to Mayagüez made, and the necessary buildings erected for initial laboratory, library and office requirements, no provision had been made for a director's residence, that detail being left as the then appointee's own affair.

Just then there came the outbreak of a destructive sugarcane disease that swept over the island. Production was impaired as by a very pestilence, quality was down, the industry was suffering quick disaster. Little could be accomplished by way of immediate salvage, but something must be done to save the industry against a second season of such destruction. The Federal Experiment Station was the recipient of frantic appeal.

By merciful circumstance a staff man just out of sugarcane study in China knew of a hardy variety, somewhat less productive by the acre, but pest-resisting—at least this particular pest—in high degree. The Station was able to provide information and put the planters in touch with the sources of seed supply in the Orient from which a new crop could be planted, following the eradication of the failure crop. With only one season lost this new variety was hurried to plantage and the resultant saving ran into the millions of dollars.

So definite was the service, so deep the gratitude, that the insular legislature appropriated $15,000 as a gift to the Federal Station for the purpose of building a fitting official residence on the Station grounds for the all-time occupancy of the successive directors who might be at the head of the institution. It would be difficult to find a parallel incident. There the hilltop home stands under the shade-trees, looking out from its verandas to Mayagüez down a striking avenue of royal palms extending from the experimental fields in the foreground toward the city less than a mile away. The residence is one of comfort and charm, a fitting example of tropical dwelling modified by the introduction of American conveniences, and always a center of American hospitality. The office buildings and laboratories are but a few hundred feet away, the work is inspiring and unceasing, and the political storms of Puerto Rican politics seem to pass this institution by, a Federal instrumentality of friendly service not to be disturbed.

The story of Puerto Rico might almost be related in statistics, and to those who read figures they can be as dramatic as facts in other form. Certainly, also, figures can be as manhandled in their interpretation to become proofs of preconceptions.

Population figures of towns and cities mislead one unless there is careful definition as to whether urban or urban-plus-rural-*barrios* within the municipality are included. Not yet after forty years do official documents agree precisely on matters as simple and immutable as the distance from New York to San Juan or the exact area of the island. What wonder that crop production and wages, imports and exports, incomes and taxes vary in the various statistical tables.

This is why I have left many matters for words rather than tabulations to convey what seem to me the graphic essentials. Nevertheless, let me assure the more mathematical reader, on the word of one who has just sifted the figures of forty years and several times forty pamphlets, documents, reports, analyses, registers, annuals, etc., that no quota limitation forbids the use of statistics to clarify or prove details at issue!

As far back as 1909, Governor Regis H. Post called attention to changing conditions in the production of sugar. He expressed concern regarding the fact that the lands suited to cane culture were rapidly passing over to the control of wealthy corporations, by purchase or by long-time contracts with the *colonos* or small farmers.

"Formerly the manufacture of sugar from the cane," he said, "was the work of a small amount of capital. To-day conditions have changed. The aim of the modern *central* is to waste as little as possible. With complex machinery, often including three pairs of giant triple rollers to crush the cane, this is secured. Such a mill, with the accompanying railroad and land to insure an adequate supply of cane, costs a great deal and is the work of corporations.

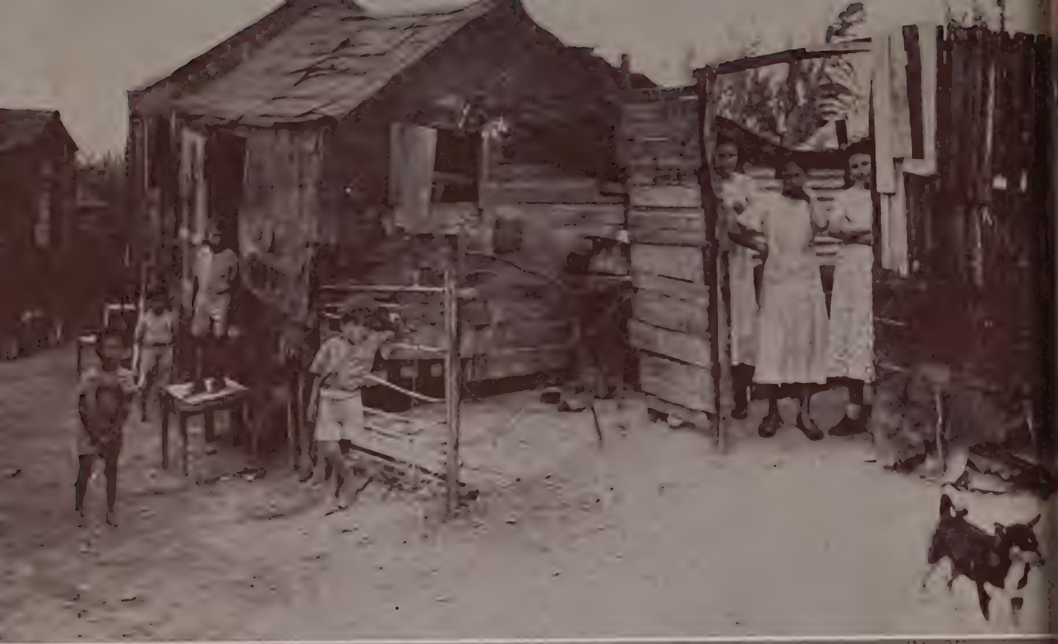
"The cane is supplied in two ways—either through cultivation by the *central*, or by contract with *colonos* at a stipulated percentage of the sugar produced from the cane they grow. It is safe to say that it does not cost more than half as much to manufacture the sugar from the cane as it does the *colonos* to grow it. It is the opinion of many close observers that the *colonos* and the *peones* who do the field work are not getting their share of the product. The *centrals*, where favorably situated, make large profits. Much of the stock of these *centrals* is not owned in Puerto Rico. The stockholders for the most part are well pleased and do not desire a change. It would seem that it is on them that a considerable part of the burden of taxes must ultimately fall."

What Governor Post said about sugar nearly thirty years ago has been realized and said again times beyond numbering. The tendency was accelerated and the facts became the larger. Modern trends in industry meant that more millions must be invested in more highly perfected mills and mill equipment. To keep such huge plants in assured operation, with earnings

- *Above:* Entrance to the office and laboratories of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture at Mayagüez.

  Photo, Puerto Rico Experiment Station, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

- *Below:* The *jibaro* takes pride in his vegetable crop once he realizes the possibilities to his own advantage.



- *Above:* A typical street in Mameyes slum, Ponce, to be attacked by the rehousing program.
  Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
- *Below:* First great rehousing unit built by PRRA in 1937 at Puerta de Tierra, San Juan, to accommodate 216 families heretofore dwelling in that notorious slum.
  Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

to justify their cost, required the control of large acreage, by whatever methods this could be established. Assuredly the stockholders of such successful enterprises were pleased with the management which could produce dividends. Nor did they, more than other absentee landlords, unduly chide the managements and law departments which found effective ways to hold down or to avert painful taxation. So it came about that little by little a host of small farmers sold or leased away their acreage and became farm laborers, wage-workers in the canefields where they had once been small proprietors, and the great plantations grew greater.

It could be of little use to recite to them—or here—that from the day of the first enactment of American civil government for Puerto Rico in 1900 it has been unlawful for any corporation engaged in agriculture to own more than 500 acres of land. There were neither enforcement nor penalty clauses of consequence to put teeth into the law. Five hundred acres will not support a great sugar *central*. Evasions of the law have been absurdly easy, and enforcement efforts few and futile. Some solution more intelligent and more constructive than a mere mandate which decrees the uneconomic and the unworkable has to be found, to save the people and the industry.

The slight gradual increase of the wage scale for labor, responding to the growth of unions and the pressure by strikes and settlements, in the familiar pattern of industrial conflict, provides no complete solution. Even the undoubted mellowing of corporation ownership and management of late, as younger executives with a concept of new elements and new attitudes throughout the whole industrial world have come into authority, can contribute little more than a tempering of the difficulties.

It is a hopeful sign, however, that almost every one who presents statistics for the lessons to be deduced turns early attention to the factors of social betterment, social security, and the ultimate welfare of the mass population. Even the largest beneficiaries of things as they are, disturbed at the threat of corrective liberal legislation, rarely rest their final position upon the cold economics of their statistical reasoning.

The Association of Sugar Producers of Puerto Rico, maintaining highly efficient representation in Washington, has published a series of pamphlets to present their cause, and has done it well. The more comprehensive one, entitled "The Sugar Problem of Puerto Rico," takes ground as lofty and as benevolent as one should expect, in interpreting and justifying the industry's corporate and economic point of view.

Another pamphlet, published by the University of Puerto Rico, entitled "Studies in the Economic Geography of Puerto Rico," by Prof. Rafael Pico, presents among other material a report prepared by him as consultant geographer for the planning division of PRRA. This also takes a lofty and benevolent position, and shows how negligent the sugar industry has been, with all its technical improvement, in failing for so long to think in terms of social welfare.

"After all," says Prof. Pico, "the geographical and economic factors have not been coordinated by man in industry just for production's sake. The goal is a higher one, the satisfaction of human wants, as extensively and thoroughly as possible."

I have been enabled to examine certain statistics correlated recently for the personal information of those who sought the facts contained in them. It has been the contention of the enemies of the American regime that Puerto Rico has paid too dearly for the relationship which it holds. Such criticism goes to its maximum expression personally in outbreak and disorder to the point of assassination, and politically in the clamor of the small but vocal Nationalist party, demanding immediate independence at any price. In milder form it asks for greater generosity, greater wisdom, and revised legislation.

In almost every complaint there is a broad contention that Puerto Rico has suffered economically at the hands of the United States, and that the curse of absentee landlordism on a huge scale, as exemplified chiefly in the sugar industry, continually robs the island of profits which should remain in Puerto Rico as reinvestment capital and distributed wealth. Certainly these statistics do not contain all the modifying social facts in the situation. They do not prove or disprove anything with finality in a matter so complicated. But at the very least they are illuminating.

The first table shows the balance of trade between Puerto Rico and the United States year by year from 1900 to 1935 inclusive. It indicates the value of all imports from the United States and of all exports to the United States. In twenty-nine of those years there was a balance of trade in favor of Puerto Rico to a total of $361,726,318. In seven of those years—only one since 1907—there was a balance of trade in favor of the United States to a total of $21,034,159; a net favorable balance to Puerto Rico in thirty-six years of $340,692,159, three-fourths of this huge total within the last half of the period.

The second table shows the annual value to Puerto Rico of the tariff-free privilege in marketing raw sugar in the continental United States from July 1, 1902 to June 30, 1935. It applies the duty in effect during those years to the volume of raw sugar actually exported to the United States, and thereby computes the total value to Puerto Rico of tariff-protection of raw sugar since the American occupation to be $556,314,397. The third table assembles the similar factors for refined sugar, covering the years 1925-1935 inclusive, and for that product shows a total value to Puerto Rico since the American occupation of $34,911,226. Together the total shows an annual average, in what is tantamount to a subsidy, of more than $18,000,000.

The final table in this group deals with the earnings of four famous sugar companies in Puerto Rico, the four largest. It shows to what extent they have paid dividends. The assumption usually has it that those dividends all go to absentees, though of course a substantial amount of stock is held by island investors. But the major portion of the stock is presumably held by Americans. The total amount of dividends on preferred and common stock paid by these four companies for the eight years 1929-1936 inclusive was $24,738,405, an average of $3,092,300. The lowest dividend year was 1932 with $1,374,598, and the highest was 1936 with $5,103,736. It was the high price of sugar rather than an augmented production that gave the industry—and therefore the great companies as well as the small ones—their leap in prosperity.

Conclusions reached by those for whom the foregoing facts were assembled are hardly to be ignored. They affirm that trade relations between the United States and Puerto Rico are highly favorable to the island, not unfavorable. The increased value of the sugar of Puerto Rico due to the protective tariff in the United States in the past five years has averaged $39,000,000 a year. In the fiscal year 1933-1934 this amounted to 45 percent of the value of all exports, and in 1934-1935 it amounted to 49 percent of all exports. The consumer in the United States is paying considerably more for his sugar, a large part of which eventuates in a great benefit to Puerto Rico.

The benefit the island derives from the tariff on sugar, they declare, far outweighs the amount of dividends and salaries sent out of the island by the sugar factories. The island difficulty does not exist in any unfairness in trade relations between the continental United States and Puerto Rico, but in the current and ultimate distribution of the benefits of these relations. Fifty-two percent of all the island population is directly engaged in agriculture, and of this 52 percent 80 percent are day laborers, most of whom receive less than one dollar a day wages.

To summarize again, the contention is that the dividends going out of the island are not the enormous sums commonly pictured, and are relatively small in contrast to the huge subsidy furnished in the form of a protective sugar tariff which is paid by the continental consumers of sugar.

Here are certain facts with statistical elements, related and unrelated, put into words to make the Puerto Rican problem more clear. Since the American occupation the island birth-rate has doubled and the island death-rate has been halved. The population now approximates 1,800,000. The acreage of arable land is steadily diminishing, and not until there has been time for certain reclamation, irrigation and other projects of PRRA to produce their results, including the restorations after years of destructive soil erosion on a huge scale, can this be overcome and reversed. The cost of erosion-resistance by bench terracing on a large scale is so great that it can be carried on only for the production of high-earning crops.

The per capita amount of arable land on the island is slightly less than seven-tenths of an acre. Except the island of Barbados, Puerto Rico is the most densely populated country in the Western Hemisphere, with a population of 507 to the square mile. Only Holland and Belgium in Europe, and the island of Java in the East Indies, are more densely populated than Puerto Rico. In the United States, Rhode Island and Massachusetts only are more densely populated, but they are great industrial states, with large cities where industries create employment. Puerto Rico, all but barren of industrial works, is dependent on agriculture—and on seven-tenths of an acre per capita!

Hence the persistent effort of institutions, governments and students of all sorts to promote "for the long pull" whatever will lift the prosperity of the island by establishing new industries, experimenting with new and profitable crops, keeping always in mind the factor of social economy. Sugar may contain the solution, in that it is a high-value product. Perhaps the experiment in cooperative ownership and management initiated by PRRA at the large Lafayette *central* may become helpfully illuminating.

When the sugar situation and its part in the "back to the land" question have been solved, when wage-scales are adequate and housing projects far advanced, the minor problems of island agriculture will still remain to be confronted. The industries, the crops, the seasons, and the continental markets will have to be synchronized, and harnessed. Once upon a time each of the island products in turn seemed to have export advantages, a welcome waiting market, and the germs of fortune-making. Too many of them have suffered, from war or storm or competition. Puerto Rican grapefruit no longer tops the continental market in the face of Texas production, and the island groves are neglected, this but a single such example of a now-impaired industry, once prosperous.

Perhaps some miracle will renew the coffee industry, long-time chief of island crops in the elder day, and the pride of every small farmer in his position as an independent owner. The World War destroyed the market, hurricanes destroyed the trees, and overproduction in Brazil and elsewhere destroyed the profits. Puerto Rican coffee was a special thing, in favor where it was marketed, and commanding highest prices. Those days seem to be gone forever. Coffee is an unprotected crop in the American market, and even lower-cost labor than that of Puerto Rico has captured the new European market, with a similar output from Central America.

The old-time coffee plantations in the hills are poignant examples of old-regime enterprise, retrograding, though manfully resisting the passing of an era. Cuba, Germany and Italy used to be the avid markets for Puerto Rican coffee. But following the war there was no resumption of that favor, and Puerto Rico at present is almost the only consuming market for the diminished island crop.

When one asks the island visitor if he likes Puerto Rican coffee, it should be understood that the question refers less to the planters' coffee crop as it comes from the tree, and more to the way it is prepared. Differences develop from the beginning, even with the coffee-berry, for the Puerto Rican product is a variety of its own, practically unduplicated in any other coffee-producing country except small areas in Central America. With the crop harvested, however, the differences multiply.

Roasting coffee in Puerto Rico involves more heat than the American taste prefers. The roasting process is carried on until the bean nears the charcoal stage, with the natural aroma reenforced by a vague trace of scorching. This bean is so crisp that when ground it becomes an all but impalpable powder.

With this powder in boiling water, the liquid infusion known as the essence of coffee becomes almost a paste, so heavily loaded is it with the coffee grounds. Less than half a cupful of this, the cup filled with hot milk, and the Puerto Rican connoisseur regards himself as possessed of the most delectable of drinks. It is only an acquired taste, for most Americans.

A Puerto Rican friend with cosmopolitan background, expounding the sugar situation, the tariff, the labor question and the matter of production-control by quota, took frank and radical position as to the quota limitation. Since the United States established the relationship with the island, and we are now all fellow-citizens, why restrict the American production at all? Save restriction for Cuba, or for any other productive area not American, but grant freedom of output within the family-circle. All the more should this be, because the entire possible production in Puerto Rico would fall far short of the American need. And what prosperity this policy would bring, while improving the housing, the wage, the health and the literacy of the *jibaro* and all the island!

Since he was one who spoke well for the quality of the laboring masses I paid respectful heed to his disregard of world production—and the American sense of obligation to Cuba which had no appeal to him whatever, fellow-colonies of Spain though the two islands were till 1898.

He was one of many who resented, as I did, the casual dismissal of island labor as hopelessly inferior. It is a commonplace to hear the age-old defense of those who see merit in low wages, that only by a low wage scale can labor be induced to work at all, that promotion and better pay merely enable the recipient to do less work, since he is content to loaf when once he has earned a minimum subsistence. That particular justification for the payment of starvation wages has lost its effectiveness. Some other fundamental underlies that line of argument.

It is an unfair generalization to characterize Puerto Rican laborers as merely lazy. There are idle hours, days and weeks, no doubt, with no adequate sign of industry. But idleness may come from an inward cause—hunger or hookworm—rather than from mere reluctance to work. Any one who has seen the steady, plodding labor in the sugar-cane fields, and in all the processes of the sugar industry, will contradict the imputation of universal laziness. The sugar industry draws its hands from several miles around each large *central.* Labor walks those miles in early dawn from a scanty breakfast in the miserable hut called home, spends a forenoon of extremely hard work, eats a scanty lunch to fill the gap, walks the homeward miles at evening to a hardly better supper.

It is, indeed, highly reprehensible that these laborers with a homestead acre on the hillside should not beautify their surroundings, or raise subsistence crops of vegetables and fruits to increase the variety of their table. But I can conceive neglect of such opportunity by others than Puerto Ricans also, if the hard day with inadequate food began at five in the morning and ran till seven in the evening, with little chance to draw breath and seek rest. It is true that they keep holidays—all United States holidays, all Puerto Rican holidays, and all church days—with peculiar faithfulness, so that the total is a too-large impairment of the working year. Nevertheless, my sympathy runs with them till they have more margin upon which to be judged.

Perhaps it should be argued that the wife and children at home should be doing something to beautify the home acres or to make them productive of a subsistence ration. The habit of the country, the wage-work the children do whenever such employment can be found, the woman's needlework for profit, and her household duties, all these diversions must be reckoned with. One of the finest things that the extension work of the University is doing is to teach those very things to a great number of hungry households. Certain it is that the teachers engaged in this work are veritable missioners to those who need them most. If they can instil lessons of sanitation and dietary, and at the same time offer some suggestions as to how to provide additional earnings with which to introduce betterments in life, their work will be blessed.

It is to be said for the mothers of these humblest households that as an island habit they wear clean clothes, and their children's clothes are clean, whatever the degree of their lonesome poverty. I shall not forget one mountain home by the roadside, the very wretchedest of dwellings, with a bevy of children whose garments had been hung to dry, while most of the younger ones were completely unclad in the dooryard. But the clothesline on which everything was draped for a considerable distance was a hedgerow of hibiscus in gorgeous bloom, such as would make any gardener proud.

Upon the authority of friends who have lived for many years in Puerto Rico, and not upon knowledge of my own, I accept the truth of a disturbing detail as to the Puerto Rican attitude toward those who work by choice. One friend is building a home on a picturesque hilltop in the outskirts of a city. His professional life engrosses him for most of the day, but bachelor that he is, he has undertaken to build his own house in the country in his few spare hours at the end of the day, and during his holidays and his week-ends. Educated in such matters as physics and electricity, and as handy with hydraulic engineering as he is with gardening and building, he has been taking his pleasure in developing his place right from the grass roots, grading it, installing his own hydraulic ram, irrigating, building one small house that will become a garage, in which to live while he builds the real bungalow, choosing choice plantage of flower and shrub and tree, turning his acre into a delight, enjoying his work and getting his exercise.

In his acquaintance with the neighboring urchins he has been forced to the conclusion that the fact of his own labor on his own place has declassed him with the neighbors and their youngsters. At the very best, he is queer. Quite seriously, and quite contemptuously, the children have manifested toward him how completely they disesteem any one who works and soils his hands or tenses his muscles, if he has money enough to pay others for doing it.

It goes farther than a surface attitude. It is a social concept they are revealing, that there is intrinsic abasement in labor, rather than pride in one's ability to do his own work with his own hands. It is a corollary to the fact that no shame attaches to beggary, nor any inward revulsion which makes the beggar strive to find a way out from that means of livelihood. "Not until Puerto Ricans take pride in honest labor, rather than thinking ill of me because I work when I wish," says my friend, "can they become what they are entirely capable of being."

And yet taking this citation at its worst, one pays tribute to the changed attitude in another direction within the recent years. To see the shops and factories disgorge their host of young women at the end of the day is an amazing contrast to the cloistered life their predecessors led. A director of island charities, when the American regime was young, in 1901, had this to report: "Considerable objection is made by the guardians of children in charity schools to having the children placed at service with families, it being looked upon as a degradation for any but Negroes to do housework. Frequently children will be taken into homes of poverty in preference to allowing them to be placed with responsible families where they will be required to perform light domestic services. There is absolutely no other form of employment for women in Puerto Rico."

The crop-miracle will have to come to pass, whether by some unknown process, or by special skill, thrift, industry, cooperation and legislation. Truck-garden products or pineapples, citrus fruits or cocoanuts, sea-island cotton or the tobacco industry that boomed and then slipped backward—something must turn Puerto Rico to prosperity. Industries, too, must develop as the needlework industry has done. But the reservoir of low-cost labor must cease to mean dollar-a-day, ten-cents an hour man-power—or half as much for thousands of women and children—if the island is to be lifted to the plane where it may be wholesomely prosperous and happy.

Chapter XXII

PRRA

NOT far beyond the capitol, to the eastward, is Muñoz Rivera Park, a few lovely acres of tropical greenery—lawns, flowers, shrubbery and shade—with a northern outlook over the Atlantic, and Ponce de Leon Avenue giving ready entrance by gateways through an encircling hedge. And just past the park, as the island which is San Juan begins to narrow and the streets converge toward the eastbound bridges, one comes to PRRA.

Permission was granted to the agencies which brought relief when need was at its height, to encroach upon the park and erect the acre or two of headquarters buildings required for the welcome activities. One-story "take-down" frame buildings of the familiar type of so many temporary camps in recent years, they recall the days of war-time "huts" and cantonments, modified to meet tropical conditions. It is a big, busy office for the throng of men and women at work, technical men, engineers, draftsmen, clerks, purchasing agents, personnel experts, auditors, lawyers and executives. Such a program cannot be extemporized, such a machine does not continue to work automatically just because some one starts it. Puerto Rico is to be felicitated upon the spirit and the quality of the captain and the crew thus enlisted in island service.

From a gravel walk at the edge of Muñoz Rivera Park one enters the business-like, unpretentious reception-room of the headquarters office of PRRA, first place of contact at that center of construction and relief established by the United States Government for the lifting of Puerto Rico out of the Slough of Despond. At the end of April, 1937, I copied significant figures from the large blackboard over the reception desk, changed daily as changes occur, and chalked afresh. A row of chairs against the opposite wall, where visitors wait their turn, makes it easy to observe.

The blackboard showed the total employed on the PRRA payroll on that day as 38,653, of whom 34,341 were drawn directly from relief rolls, leaving a net not appointed from relief rolls of 4,312. Of this last enumeration 972 were listed as of the administrative personnel, 456 as engaged in health work throughout the island, and 49 characterized as semi-professional project employees, meaning technical positions for which employees could not be found on the relief rolls. This summary showed a total of 1,477 thus employed in administrative and technical work, with a remainder of 2,835 whose source of employment was not designated.

Obviously this implies a presumptive inability to find available employees for those positions on relief rolls. This circumstance is confirmed by implication in a news item published four months later under a Washington date-line, which read as follows: "Puerto Rico is 535 jobs short of its apportionment, the Civil Service Commission reported to-day. Only thirty-three positions of the island's apportionment of 568 were filled at the end of August."

With the onset of what we all know respectfully as The Depression, the imperative need for relief of depression-poverty and distress in Puerto Rico forced itself upon the realization of every one responsible for island affairs, local, insular, and Federal, with an instant compulsion for quick action to avert tragic suffering to the point of desperation. Nowhere in the continental United States was there any such extremity of need as became a commonplace in Puerto Rico almost from the beginning. With no reserves of money or subsistence resources except among the comparatively few, and with the daily need that man's work should provide for man, the collapse of industry, agriculture, trade, and all the routine of life left the people bewildered and helpless.

The one amelioration was that island climate is mercifully kind. Except when tropical rain storms or hurricanes make the huts of the poor no shelter, and the food supply by Nature's bounty becomes a failure, the Puerto Rican might survive even though unroofed, unclad, and hungry. Such intolerable conditions could not be left unremedied when once realized, and the general relief measures sought by the President and authorized by Congress went into effect in Puerto Rico almost as rapidly as human organization could become effective.

The first agency established was the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration—by initials PRERA, and casually pronounced almost as if it were "prairie." PRERA was succeeded after the test of experience and time by the more permanent organization known as the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. So in midyear 1935 PRERA was followed by PRRA—pronounced "prah"—and PRRA is the instrumentality of high potency around which revolves every phase of the rehabilitation program.

PRRA became the almoner for the island as well as the planning agency through which allotted Federal funds should be expended. A total of $42,000,000 was the initial allotment of relief resources for the island for the first year thereafter, this including left-over remnants of allotments to the superseded PRERA, from which continuing obligations already made should be carried through.

Around PRRA revolves every plan for the allocation and use of Federal funds in the island, every thirsty hope on the part of municipalities for improvements to be built at the cost of Federal funds allotted to them, plans for irrigation systems, highway construction, schoolhouses, new industries, new crops, rehousing, and in short every worthy project, and some less worthy. Likewise around PRRA revolves the manifestation of greed, selfishness, covetousness, the folk who seek opportunity for graft in time of misery, and those shabby demagogues who attempt to find advantage for themselves in their exploitation of human misery and its relief.

All of these circumstances have required unceasing vigilance on the part of those charged with responsibility, in order that the percentage of error shall be reduced to the minimum and the percentage of knavery kept as near to the vanishing-point as possible. Indeed, it has required quite as much close observation and quite as much prompt authority to guard against the impractical, the visionary of honest sympathies and pet projects hopelessly out of the possibilities in a realistic world. Puerto Rico, its people, and the insular government, as truly as the Federal authorities, may take proper pride in the broad excellence of what has been done and what is being done to accomplish maximum results with PRRA resources, with so little "slip" in the operations of the great machine.

The island newspapers range in form from expansive blanket sheets to typical tabloids with half-portion dimensions and double-portion headlines, the latter the more sensationally edited. One of these latter, energetically conducted, vigorously written, lavishly illustrated with news pictures and the same "comic strips" and syndicate features familiar in the continental North, is entitled *El Imparcial*. I can but think that the titling of the paper is merely rhetorical now, whatever may have been some original intention.

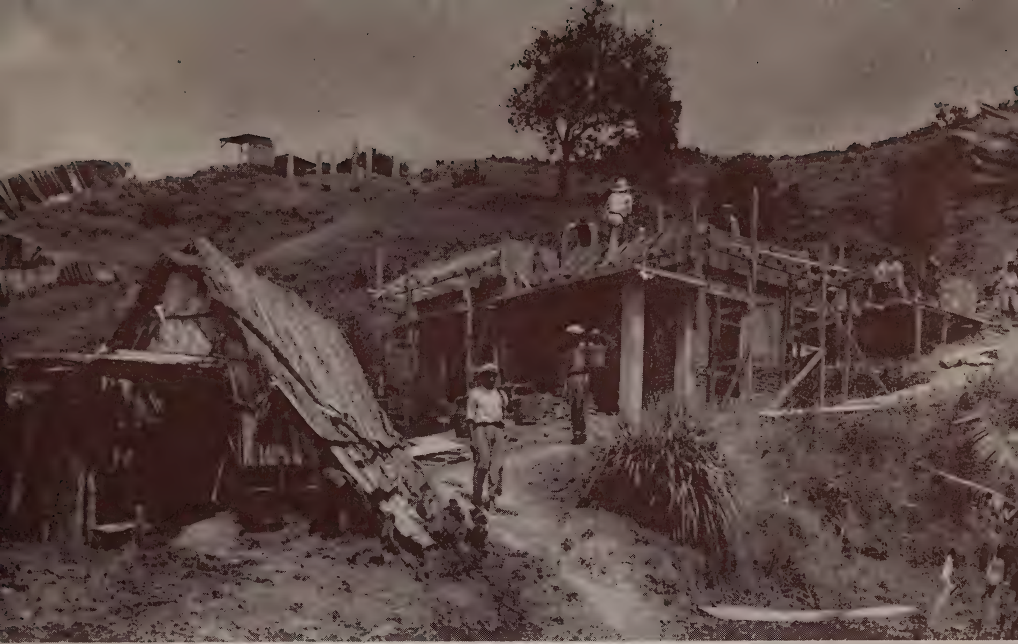
I doubt if its editor would feel complimented by any assumption that he intends it to be impartial. It is frankly and forcefully an advocate of the positions it maintains, whether partizan politics or other cause for the crusader. Just how far it commits itself toward a full program of island independence would have to be deduced from an extended study and an interpretation of implications. To the casual reader, however, its anti-Americanism seems more than implied.

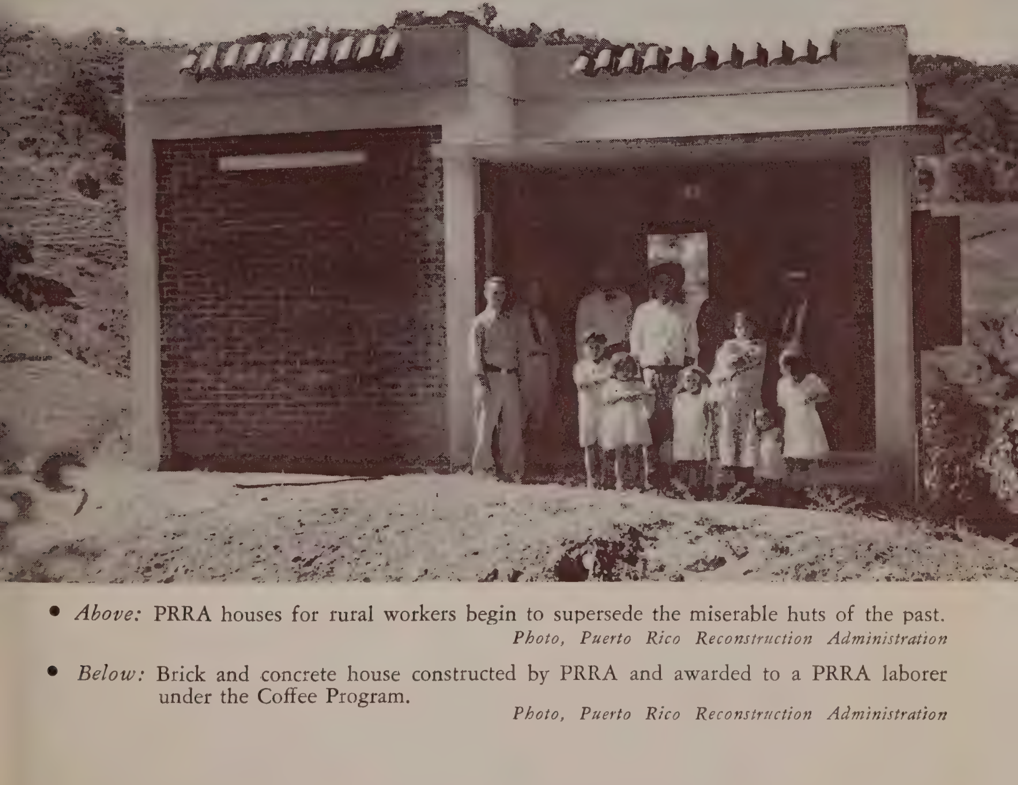
The reason for this close attention at the moment is that *El Imparcial* opened its activities for the new year of 1937 with what was obviously intended to be an exposure of scandalous doings in the administration of the relief funds allotted to Puerto Rico, Federal funds appropriated by Congress and allocated by executive authority from Washington. In this attack—what English symbolism would call a mare's-nest—the entire first page of the paper of January 5, was given to headlines without even beginning the text of the article itself. "Half a Million Grabbed Annually in Wages by the American Employees of Reconstruction," the headlines vociferated. The next right-hand page exploded typographically with the headline "$500,000 for American place-holders in PRRA," after which the story "broke" in large type, to tell the horrid truth as discovered by the editor.

Patching together that portion of wage payments expended on the handling of the Puerto Rican allotments in Washington, the expenses and travel cost of American phases of the work on many projects, and finally some $365,000 a year in wages to American employees assigned to duty throughout Puerto Rico, for superintendence and other special details, the story reached the conclusion that almost a million dollars annually goes to Americans, not Puerto Ricans, under the pretext of rehabilitating Puerto Rico. It carried as its most devastating comment the affirmation that never before was there such a manifestation of "*carpetbaggerismo*" in Puerto Rico.

Another editor, not so "*imparcial*," might find unfairness of attitude and interpretation in this news column. The truth is, of course, that it would be more accurate, though less sensational, to give another complexion to the story. An allocation of $35,400,000 was made for direct expenditure in Puerto Rican rehabilitation from Federal funds appropriated by Congress, the President charged with the duty and the responsibility of so placing this sum as to render the greatest permanent service while also becoming an immediate process of relief.

It is not to be forgotten that Dr. Chardon was once in charge



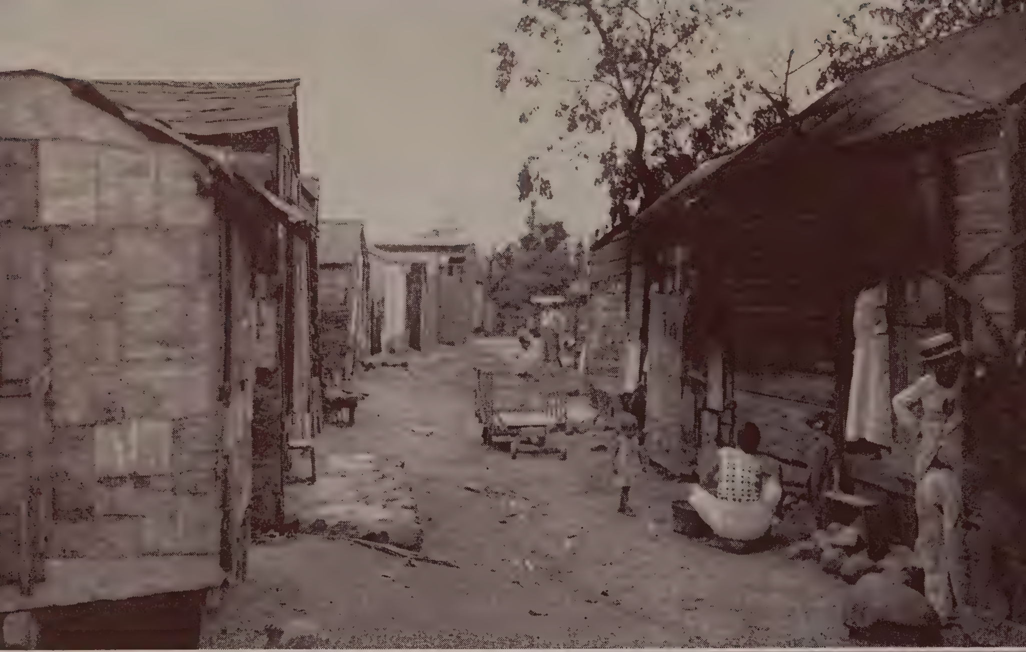


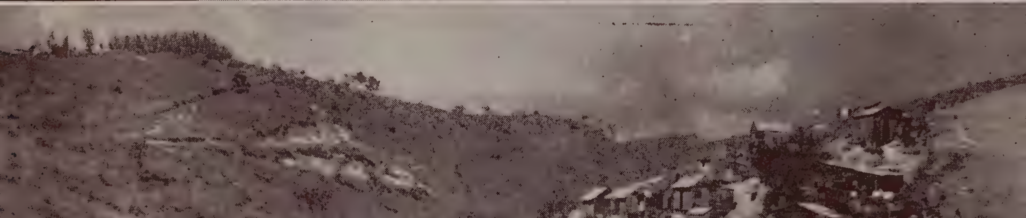
- *Above:* PRRA houses for rural workers begin to supersede the miserable huts of the past.

Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Below:* Brick and concrete house constructed by PRRA and awarded to a PRRA laborer under the Coffee Program.

Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration





- *Above:* A principal street in "Berlin" slum, outskirts of Ponce.

Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Below:* Mameyes slum. One of the problems under attack by the rehousing division of PRRA.

Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

of the San Juan headquarters as Regional Administrator of PRRA, subject only to the authority of Dr. Ernest H. Gruening as Administrator. Dr. Gruening, a man of the broadest sympathies, a practical idealist zealous to accomplish for Puerto Rico every dollar's worth of benefit that the great appropriation could be stretched to cover, was already Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior, and engrossed in his job. This additional duty, uncompensated, was assigned to him by the President and the Secretary of the Interior because of his peculiar fitness for the task. Dr. Chardon obtained a year's leave of absence from the Chancellorship of the University of Puerto Rico to take the appointment of Regional Administrator under Dr. Gruening. At the outset this was thought to be a wise selection, but only a few months sufficed to require a change. Dr. Chardon was soon succeeded by Miles H. Fairbank, and work advanced thereafter along the lines intended.

It could never have been doubtful, in any frank observation of the probabilities, that each division in the PRRA headquarters at San Juan, would require the appointment of Americans as well as Puerto Ricans in the manning of the great organization. No one with a realistic concept of the problems could expect that the United States would confer a gift of $35,400,000 on the distressed island, and then say good-by to the allocation without further attention to the integrity or the efficiency of its use.

It would have been a worthier and more accurate presentation of the facts had some Puerto Rican paper published a payroll list of the employees, and congratulated the people of the island that all but $500,000 was to be expended in the direct and indirect processes of employment, less than one and one-half percent for administrative and technical employees upon whom the plans for all would largely depend.

It is a parenthetical sequel to the foregoing characteristic attitude, that one finds near the end of this same issue of *El*

Imparcial a page edited as the daily English supplement. One page with a turnover is printed in the English language, and to this most Americans turn. But this page makes no mention in headline, article, or summary, of the superlatively important news the editor had just uncovered in Spanish, nor any hint of the strongly phrased anti-American attacks appearing elsewhere in the issue.

The one-language American traveler, buying *El Imparcial* upon arrival because it carries an English page, would get little realization that the island Americans that day were under embittered attack, as one exasperated Yankee phrased it, because they were only doing almost everything for the island instead of everything.

PRRA's own succinct statement of the actuating need and the circumstances which determined the objectives ought to be observed. It says with unqualified truth, "The disastrous effects of tropical storms, unstable agricultural conditions, excessive and steadily increasing density of population, and wide-spread unemployment in urban and rural areas, together with absentee concentration of land ownership, have impeded economic and social progress in Puerto Rico. A readjustment of economic and social conditions requires the restoration of the devastation wrought by tropical storms, the stabilization of agriculture, the establishments of markets, the creation of employment, and improved health and educational facilities.

"Puerto Rico is predominantly agricultural. For decades erosion under tropical rains has gone unchecked. Absentee ownership has driven those formerly dependent upon the soil to the already congested urban areas which are lacking in proper and adequate housing facilities. Consequently, it is of the utmost importance to encourage the return to the rural areas of the farmers and farm workers by restoring the farm lands to them. A comprehensive reconstruction program with permanent benefits is essential to accomplish the readjustments indicated, and Puerto Rico is without funds to conduct such a program. Therefore, it was necessary to extend Federal aid in an effort to make Puerto Rico more nearly self-sustaining."

So from the emergency relief appropriations by Congress, and under the authority delegated to the President, the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration was created, the funds allotted, and the Administrator appointed "to initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects for providing relief and work relief and for increasing employment within Puerto Rico."

The divisions of the approved project programs fall under such comprehensive captions as rural rehabilitation, rural electrification, slum clearance and housing, University of Puerto Rico buildings, reforestation and forestation, and the construction of a great cement plant. This latter becomes finally a project of the island of Puerto Rico, financed by a loan from PRRA to the island government. The cement manufactured at the plant is for use by PRRA in its construction work, and by the insular government in its public projects and otherwise.

Says PRRA, "It is not contemplated that the cement manufactured at this plant will enter into competition with American cement. As a matter of fact, American cement cannot successfully compete with foreign cement for insular and commercial construction in Puerto Rico, due to the very high freight rates and landing charges on American cement, and the very low labor cost in the manufacture of foreign cement. There is desperate need for cement for the building of homes in Puerto Rico. The frame house, because of cyclones and insect pests, is dangerous construction in Puerto Rico and bad investment since it is so likely to be wiped out within the course of a few years. The most satisfactory material for the building of homes in Puerto Rico is concrete, inasmuch as cement construction is cyclone and earthquake proof and requires little, if any, maintenance."

Under such a broad charter of policy and concept the infinite task has gone forward. In whichever division of the work the observer investigates it has reached almost inspirational proportions. Relief work from the beginning had to be speedily regarded so as to ameliorate the suffering, but at all times, as far as lay within human power, the factor of permanence was included, lasting as well as instant betterment.

In a task of such magnitude, ranging from three-room concrete housing for a *jíbaro* mountain farmer to great hydro-electric and irrigation projects, from cooperative sugar plants to modern vocational schoolhouses, from "back to the land" movements for small farmers to municipal public utilities, there was bound to be a percentage of human error, but nothing with practicality of Puerto Rican application was too large or too small to be given consideration. Whereupon, criticism became easy, too often without command of the facts. Such stuff made good newspaper news in the island and in the continental North. In its own field, therefore, the situation exemplified Puerto Rico, as we shall see it for years to come. The first essential thing is for Presidents to find more Gruenings!

With admirable foresight and judgment the work-relief projects include measures warranted by their beauty and their sentimental value, and likewise projects as utilitarian as schoolhouses and hydro-electric plants. For instance, a tribute should be paid to what has been done in the east end of the island, in that area blank of highways west of Fajardo and Ceiba, south of Mameyes and Canovanas, and north of Mango. This has been an area of virtual inaccessibility through the centuries, an entanglement of mountains and gorges, heavily forested but little visited, many miles of all but impenetrable wilderness.

For centuries the mountain summit of *El Yunque*—The Anvil—was believed to be the highest point on the island. Explorers and adventurers so regarded it, and final measurements had never been established until of late. It has now been found with accuracy that El Yunque, with its 3,496 feet, is overtopped by *El Toro*—The Bull—with 3,600 feet of altitude only six miles away. It is fairly well determined that peaks in the Jayuya and Adjuntas districts, half a dozen of them perhaps, are higher than El Yunque, and that one, at least, approximates 4,400 feet. But El Yunque stands at a point of advantage, visible above its neighbors from far at sea, north, east, or south, with a pyramid beauty all its own and now in easy reach of travelers.

The Luquillo Unit of the Caribbean National Forest—a Federal project administered as a part of the National Forest system—was acquired long before our late depression was even predicted. Activities in its development for common use were stimulated and accelerated, with their relief value recognized, and so we have it as one crowning example of what has been done in Puerto Rico for Puerto Ricans and their visiting friends.

The development of Luquillo as a wilderness park has advanced upon a larger scale than that of other similar projects. The Maricao and Guanica Forest Reservations are undertakings of the insular government. They have done much to foster scientific timber management on the island, and the cooperation between the insular government and the Federal government has been complete, but their functions have differed.

The lands which comprise the original forests became the property of the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War. They had been the property of the Spanish Crown, and by the terms of the Treaty they were ceded to the United States. Presumably this was because the lands were of such rugged character as to be regarded as valueless. Otherwise they could hardly have remained ungranted to private individuals. Thus the title passed directly from Spain to the United States without an intervening ownership by the insular government. It is an evidence of the uncertainty surrounding all such matters that the lands so designated amounted to approximately 80,000 acres, although actually, with surveys made and titles verified, the total was found to be less than 13,000 acres.

In this National Forest Reservation at least ten rivers take their rise, flowing north, east, and south from the wooded heights and valleys. It is a region of heavy rainfall and the run-off is so held back by the saturated forest floor and the forest itself that these rivers flow an almost constant, uniform stream, preserving the parklike characteristics in a most fortunate manner. All of the principal peaks of the Luquillo range are contained within the boundary of the Forest, although the entire area is less than ten by fourteen miles.

Visitors to the Luquillo Forest drive eastward from San Juan by way of the north coast highway through Rio Piedras and Carolina to Mameyes, portal to the park. It is only twenty-eight miles from the island capital to the center of the Forest. After one makes the right-hand turn into the park he is no longer traveling via the insular highway system, and thereafter it is an unmapped road, built by Puerto Rican CCC labor under the direction of engineers of the Department of Agriculture. From this road magnificent scenic panoramas of mountain scenery, beautiful waterfalls, singing streams, and virgin stands of fine palms and other tropical trees delight the traveler. The road climbs steadily around the projecting ridges of the mountains, and finally, at the crest of the range, passes over the height of land toward an alternative descent and exit at Rio Blanco. Here it connects with a longer, more southerly route, returning to the capital via Caguas.

The foresters who built the road are more interested in their technical science and in the magnificent forest itself, than they are in the recreational facilities which they also provided for public use. What they have done and are doing with such ardor was done ultimately for the benefit of Puerto Rico, in the development and practical use of its resources. The original Forest Reserve was proclaimed by President Theodore Roosevelt on January 7, 1903, at which time the United States had but faint concept of what might yet befall Puerto Rico, or what values and lessons might lie in these hills.

The Luquillo Unit is known among scientists as a rain forest, its chief value the protection of an important watershed essential to the development of adjacent hydro-electric power and irrigation projects.

The forest cover is just as important a factor in preventing disastrous floods as the rain itself is in furnishing the needful water supply. Nowhere else in Puerto Rico is there such a virgin forest-stand composed entirely of tropical hardwood in a great variety of species, the majority of which are evergreens. They are so different in coloration and in other characteristics from the forests of the United States that the traveler will find constant interest, no less in the profusion of hanging vines and countless orchids than in the tree growth itself.

The astonishing scenic beauty, the fact that it is the nation's only tropical National Forest, and the scarcity of virgin timber elsewhere on the island, give to this area a specialized interest. The mountains of Luquillo are characteristically rough and picturesque, with streams of the purest water racing down the slopes and gulches, falling sometimes a thousand feet in a single mile. A daily rainfall is always to be expected and the annual rainfall amounts often to more than one hundred and fifty inches, in sharp contrast to the rainfall on the southern side of the island where it averages about twenty inches.

The Department of Agriculture takes great pride in what has been accomplished by the Forest Service in the recreational development of the Luquillo Project. It is calculated that more than one-third of the population of all Puerto Rico live within twenty miles of Luquillo. There is value in such a National Park in the pride of possession and of responsibility for its care that it creates. It becomes an example to great numbers of people who have never had that phase of public consciousness established in their habits of thought or practise.

Of course, it was to be a wilderness park, not a city park.

With the road constructed far enough to permit access, the next objective was to provide recreational areas for the free use of the public. One selected picnic area was developed so as to provide necessary facilities for use, and at the same time shelter from the tropical rains.

Tables were constructed utilizing lumber whipsawed from trees cut along the right of way. Table shelters for small parties and larger parties were built of poles in a picturesque design that made them fitting to the forest surroundings. One large shelter with bays and an open fireplace was constructed. The dense tropical vegetation permitted the placing of these picnic shelters in actual close proximity to one another and to the road without diminishing their privacy. Sanitation and sightliness have been assured. Outdoor cooking facilities for picnic parties have been constructed, notably several pits for roasting pigs, as this cousin to the continental barbecue is a favorite island dish.

Deeper and farther into the woods hiking-trails and bridle-trails have been constructed, affording the finest views. Horse-trails have easy grades, none over fifteen percent. Foot-trails are steeper, with flights of stone steps in some places. Rustic bridges carry the trails over the streams and benches are placed along the trails at frequent intervals. No trails are dangerous, although they traverse the sides of deep gorges and steep mountain-slopes. On several of the peaks which are accessible by trails small observation towers have been constructed, built of rustic poles and just high enough to bring one's line of sight above the tops of the surrounding vegetation. Each tower has at its base a shelter for use in inclement weather.

Two overnight shelters have been provided near the summit of El Yunque and El Toro mountains. These shelters, each a one-room cabin equipped with a fireplace, table and benches, and with running water and toilet near-by, are reached only by mountain trails. No charge is made for their use. These overnight shelters have proved so popular as to require a rule that the same party may not occupy a cabin more than two successive nights. Many parties stay at these shelters to witness the sunrise from a near-by observation tower.

Two sites have been set aside for the construction of summer homes, although that phrase is a misnomer in an island where the climate is all but unchanging through the entire year. Allotments of these sites are made upon application to the Forest Supervisor, and designs must be approved by the Supervisor to assure that the cabins shall not be unsightly, or unfitting to the natural surroundings. Simple rustic cottages built with materials literally found on the ground are springing up in considerable number, and a new, simple, recreational spirit is taking form in a most encouraging way. While there is no record that any thermometer in all Puerto Rico ever dropped to the temperature of frost, it is sharply cold by contrast in these mountains and the open fireplace is a necessity.

The newest provision for the wayfarer is a simple hotel—no more than an expanded shelter house—a central building, with a dining-room also used as a ballroom, and somewhat detached cottages for guests, the number of which can be increased as the need increases. As yet, it is hardly more than a hospitable refectory. It does not pretend to be a hotel resort, calculated for the multitude who demand hotel luxury. But if tourist trade multiplies there will be among it votaries of the woods and streams and mountain-tops who prize such seclusion and beauty, and who will hope that Luquillo may never become too popular.

No traveler will lightly forget the northeastward view from an outlook platform at the headquarters camp. From this height one overlooks fifteen or twenty airline miles of tropical forest-top, foothill slopes, cultivated coastal plain, and broken shore from Luquillo to Fajardo and beyond, an irregular coast of bays and islands, with the breakers of the blue Atlantic rolling in over the reefs from a limitless horizon.

Chapter XXIII

ISLAND SPORTS AND SPORTSMEN

"WHAT this island needs—" is the beginning of many a commentary, volunteered by many a dogmatist, whether economic, political or sentimental. Most of the volunteered contributions to the solution of all problems are as inconsequential as the familiar "good five-cent cigar" suggestion which immortalized Vice-President Marshall. They embody whatever betterment suggests itself because something of the moment happens to be distasteful. The more stimulating ones come from the serious realist.

It seems not unfair to characterize Jack Dempsey as a true realist. Many years ago, in the practise of his shipbuilding trade, he learned that rivets must be hit hard, in the right place, to clinch them. Random pounding away at the center of a steel plate accomplished nothing. In the practise of his pugilistic profession he learned direct action. There was no profit in cherishing self-delusion. In his restaurant business north and south, he learned how popularity and favor can be developed through service, good-fellowship, and luxury that includes comfort. Also, in all these activities, he learned to fix an eye on the main chance, and play fair.

I heard his homily on the subject, "What this island needs—" with high respect, respect no less because I diverged from so much of it so sharply. It was a revelation of how a realist thinks and sizes things up with no selfishness of his own, and with a wish to be friendly to those whose hospitality he has enjoyed. This was the very time for an authority and a realist to be oracular.

For some weeks prior to the end of February, 1937, the sporting pages of the newspapers, continental as well as insular, kept track of "a forthcoming exhibition of endeavor pitted against endeavor," at San Juan. Two distinguished endeavorers were booked for the evening of February 21 in the great Escambron Ball Park. The two contestants were Sixto Escobar and Lou Salica, and it seemed that the result would lead toward a national or an international bantom-weight championship. It was to be the most notable prize-fight ever staged in Puerto Rico.

Giving it still greater acclaim, was the fact that Jack Dempsey was to visit the island and officiate as referee in this fight, a guarantee of its importance and its integrity. Sporting-editors gave it preliminary space far greater than would ordinarily be at command, because Jack Dempsey was thus to serve. Puerto Rico felt that glory was to be conferred upon the sport proclivities of the island. Sporting-editors and sporting-men came by ship from New York, and by airplane from Miami, to be present. Dempsey's plane carried a precious cargo of distinguished citizens of that Florida resort, as well as officials. It was all very exciting.

Mr. Dempsey made quick pilgrimage around the island, saw the scenery and the accommodations outside the capital, was entertained at the hotels, and in regular course officiated at the engagement. In passing, the result was a victory—an extremely popular one—for Escobar in fifteen rounds with nobody seriously injured, and the affair was a complete success. And the next night there was a party.

Active in the domain of sport in Puerto Rico is Eduardo R. Gonzalez, chairman of the Athletic Commission, which is an instrumentality of the insular government. A man of wealth and culture, a patron of sport, a breeder of race-horses, and a popular citizen, he is familiarly known as Eduardito, a diminutive of affectionate good-will, also serving to identify him in an island where Gonzalez is a common name. Mr. and Mrs.

Gonzalez opened their beautiful home in Santurce for a reception on the afternoon and evening of Washington's Birthday, with three guests of honor of the highest distinction—Governor Blanton Winship and staff of La Fortaleza, Colonel J. W. Wright and staff of Casa Blanca, and Mr. Dempsey himself of Miami, accompanied by visiting newspapermen.

One would search far without finding a home of greater beauty and hospitality, more lavish in the refreshments provided, or more profusely decorated by men and women of every grace and charm. Perhaps two hundred guests came and went as the afternoon and evening passed, including numerous débutantes in the very last word of afternoon costuming, with their fathers and mothers manifesting proper pride, and a cordiality of spirit in all the formality that made it an occasion for any stranger to remember. The guests were more or less used to governors and colonels and uniformed staffs, but Jack Dempsey furnished them a thrill by his presence, himself genial, debonair and gracious.

At last, as the affair was thinning out and standing groups of friends could gather and visit, Mr. Gonzalez ushered six or eight of us into an alcove in one of the drawing-rooms, and we settled down for a good talk—some of the distinguished guests, Mr. Dempsey's newspaper retinue from up North, the host and a friend or two of the Athletic Commission, and one or two others of no consequence except that they were strangers, receiving particular and kindly consideration.

The immediate purpose was to obtain from Mr. Dempsey his serious conclusions as to what should be done to bring prosperity to the island, through the patronage of tourists during a winter season which they would enjoy and recommend. It was realized that this objective stands high in Governor Winship's purposes, and we were to have honest advice. Since this book was to avoid quotations, and thereby leave the writer as the source of all error, I do not presume to do more than relate the realistic opinions of Mr. Dempsey as I summarize them, forcefully expressed out of his wide experience.

Your scenery and climate beat anything in Florida, he averred, and it ought to be possible to bring thousands of people this way, people who can spend money and like to do it. Nobody ever saw anything prettier than the mountains and clouds and sky, the water and the flowers, and everything that Nature has done for you. But Florida has the accommodations and people have got the Florida habit. The money-spenders come there for the horse-races and the dog-races, the casinos and clubs and card-rooms. They come to show themselves off, and they come to look at each other. They come to pay high prices at hotels and restaurants, and to be a part of the society season—whatever kind of society they choose. There are a dozen lively places along the Florida coast, and they all have plenty of hotels and plenty of places where you can get your money down. Also, they get their names in the northern papers because they are leading the sporting life, and the folks back home read the stuff and envy them, and some more of them come down the next year.

There is one city in Puerto Rico, and one hotel in that city. One hotel can do mighty little to start a flow of tourists to a new resort where nothing is going on. One hotel, even as handsome a place as the Condado, with less than one hundred rooms, can't even look like a resort center. It takes two hundred or three hundred rooms, all lit up and lively, to make an impression that things are gay. The Escambron Beach is a delightful place, but it is only one. San Juan is a wonderful city for the sightseers but it needs two thousand of them in town at the same time, instead of two hundred, to make it look lively, and there's no place for two thousand to stay if you could get them here. Downtown city hotels can't do more than take care of business men on business trips. You've got to have several Condados, on a larger scale, not only in the edge of San Juan, but scattered around the island, in the mountains and at the seashore. One hotel can't afford to carry a national advertising campaign. A dozen hotels twice as big as the Condado could carry the cost in combination, and make a real season.

It isn't good enough to have the hotels. What you want besides is at least two or three more good race-tracks in different parts of the island, with betting unmolested, as a part of the Florida circuit, with big purses drawing good horses and a money-spending crowd. You want clubhouses and casinos enough to take care of such crowds and you want the sports to feel that this is a sportsman's island where they like to come. Then you'll get the crowd and the island will make money. Of course, it's hard to put such a program through. The spoil-sports are always interfering with the night-clubs and the wheels and the ponies and the card-rooms. But they'll have to learn that if you want to make Puerto Rico go, you have to give it a clear track.

Think how much could be done with the money that is wasted. They say that the United States Government has spent three million dollars on new University buildings. It's more hotels and race-tracks that are needed instead of more University buildings. They say that thirty million dollars is going to be spent on new industries and new crops and new housing schemes for the Puerto Ricans. Think how much could be done with some of that money spent on hotels and race-tracks. Then you'd have tourists coming and spending that much money every year, leaving it behind in the island. Before you knew it, people would begin to prosper on tourist money and they wouldn't need the other things so badly.

No one seriously controverted Mr. Dempsey. The matter was left that way.

In the list of sports practised in Puerto Rico, one finds an admixture of those that came from Spanish origins and those introduced since 1898. Bull-fighting has never gained a Spanish place in island favor, although cock-fighting is not only widely favored but legalized as well. Cockpits are found in every town and city and game-cocks are cherished in circles that quite astonish the unaccustomed visitor. There is no surprise, however, that tennis is well favored and well played, when we remember Jean Borotra, "the bounding Basque," whether we credit its Puerto Rican introduction to Spanish or North American influence.

Baseball has its devotees, though not so widely. In the suburbs of San Juan the baseball stadium is delightfully located near the sea and a picturesque seaside hotel, so favorably that American major league teams have more than once gone there for their season of spring training.

Horse-racing is followed on well-equipped island tracks and heavily patronized in the season. More than one man of wealth and sporting inclinations breeds horses which are raced on the mainland as well as on the island. This does not mean that the horse-flesh of the island has improved or is improving now. It does not appear that the following of the sport of kings and the breeding of race horses has aroused any collateral interest in saddle-horses of quality, still less in the spindling little creatures that are seen as draft-horses, overworked, underfed and lightly regarded.

Prize-fighting is an active sport for those who want their exercise done by proxy, and Puerto Rican pugilists have made a place for themselves in the esteem of their colleagues and the audiences throughout the United States.

Jai alai, handball and other indoor court and gymnastic sports are practised at the athletic and social clubs, where also swimming-pools are available and highly appreciated after fast work in tropical weather. A fine yacht club has been established in San Juan and with it is to be expected a greater development in aquatic sports. All of these local sports are reported in the Puerto Rican newspapers in amplitude, and their cable service covers the major sports, racing, baseball, football, tennis, and all others in season, as played throughout the United States.

The fact that sports are thus practised and enjoyed does not necessarily guarantee the fixity of sporting standards. Pessimists declare that the idealized concepts of sport and fair play in Puerto Rico are not always inviolate. They aver that umpires get beaten up somewhat oftener than is the custom farther north; that games sometimes end in rioting, and there is no dramatic surprise remaining when that occurs; and that even between rival college teams the townspeople and the student body alike sometimes break through the barrier over an unpopular ruling and make the visiting team, as well as their own townsmen umpires, take flight into the bomb-proofs. They just can't stand defeat, it is alleged, and their fervor of protest has odd forms of expression.

I am reminded that I have said nothing about the pleasures of fishing and the chase. As to fishing, it would be hard for a lay observer to be as eloquent as are the fishermen, who report great successes in deep-sea salt-water sport in the favored haunts of swordfish, the leaping tuna and all such, dependable sport in season with regard to size and catch. When it comes to bird and beast, however, on land, there is not so much to say. The density of population has literally exterminated wild game birds and game animals, and there are none to be found in Puerto Rico. A few migratory birds breaking their long flight take rest in the lagoons in the southwestern corner of the island, and bags of these water-birds are shot in season by neighborhood hunters.

The matter of those lagoons is almost as evasive a subject as the Hindu rope trick, frequently mentioned but less frequently seen. It was a surprise to find how little was known about those interesting features of the landscape in the southwestern part of the island. Puerto Ricans who could answer every other question did not know whether these lagoons were connected with the ocean by inlets and were therefore merely bays, or fresh-water lakes standing at higher level than the ocean, with tributaries and outlets; or brackish salt marshes. The maps show several of them a few miles north and west of Guanica, but the maps do not always locate them in the same place, nor carry the same names.

Covering that part of the island in some detail, and visiting the elusive lake shores, this writer is able to solve the mystery. The truth is that the lakes literally grow larger and smaller, some of them almost to the seasonal point of appearance and disappearance. They stand at a level higher than the ocean, and therefore no salt-water inlets reach them. They do have outlets to the ocean, and they receive small tributaries from the surrounding hills and mountains. Sometimes these tributaries carry little water in the dry season, and at such seasons the levels fall, the waters recede, leaving marshy shores that become dry and desolate, and the waters become brackish. Some use is made of Lake Guanica, Lake Cartagena, Lake Boqueron, and others, when the seasons are favorable for their use as irrigation reservoirs. They are shallow at all times, which is why they can all but vanish in a dry season, but at their maximum they are a mile or two wide and from two to five miles in length, too uncertain for the profitable propagation of fish. This does not discourage their use as the resting-places for migratory birds, and local hunters do make some use of the sporting opportunity thus provided.

Even the vermin and snakes which might become game have been all but exterminated in Puerto Rico, except the rats which still trouble the cocoanut groves. They are fairly under control by the mongoose, introduced into the island for that purpose, and the mongoose itself now multiplies beyond the wish of those who welcomed its arrival. Hardly has it reached the proportions of a pest, but what a word-coining friend of mine calls "the pestimists" are vocal in their forebodings that things look threatening and "there ought to be a law."

I have my own citation as to the status of sport from one point of view. My wife and I were stopping at a favorite resort of ours, favorite first nearly forty years ago, the famous Coamo Baños. In the grounds of the quaint old hotel much has been done to establish a variety of flowers and plantage, and to induce song-birds and others to make it their home, a quiet, restful retreat off the beaten track.

A number of mourning-doves of the gentlest sort made their home in a tree exactly at the side of our own veranda, one floor above the ground level. Mrs. White was watching the tame little creatures early one morning when she heard the ping of a small bullet from not far away, and one of the doves dropped dead on the grass. It was a mysterious thing and an exasperating one, but we attempted no entrance into the situation, even though we caught a glimpse of the offending hotel guest, a Spanish gentleman with a small rifle on his arm. A day later, some pigeons were feeding on the grass, and again the man with his little rifle brought one of them low. This was too much. I sought the hotel head-porter, a bilingual servitor who stood at the head of the stairs and welcomed arriving guests, to ask the why and wherefore. Yes, he said, he had seen the guest shoot a pigeon, and he knew of the mourning-dove that had been bagged the day before.

"And why," I asked, "does he shoot those birds?"

"He likes the hunt," was the explanatory reply.

It so happened that our pleasant friend, Mr. Targa, whose family has owned the springs and the hotel for more than a hundred years—his mother-in-law was born there seventy-five years ago, and is still active in the home of her girlhood—was the proud possessor of one of the most beautiful green, blue and crimson parrots that I have ever seen—a gentleman parrot if ever there was one, soft-spoken and decorative, making his home entirely at liberty in the grove, but commonly perching just at the side of our veranda rail. As a precautionary measure on behalf of the parrot, I sought Mr. Targa and told him what we had seen, with a real sense of outrage. Distressed and angry though he was at the killing of the birds so cherished by the hotel management and by the guests, he was still too polite to admonish the offender, who was soon to continue his journey.

"Well," said I, "apparently you have only two alternatives. You can put the parrot in a place of safety, or you can shoot the guest!" A moment later I saw Mr. Targa marching across his own lawn with his parrot in a cage for the first time I had ever known, taking him away to be hidden until the bombardment of the defenseless bird population should be at an end. It is the only episode in which I felt myself all but a participant in the sporting life of the island.

I felt that it was no affair of a visiting stranger to suggest disciplinary measures in another sporting detail at this same Coamo Baños. The grassy lawns of the old hotel are made attractive for guests by a scattering of lawn-chairs under gay umbrellas, summer-houses, beautiful plantage, and one corner set apart for a target-practise game new to me. Ropes were stretched from an anchorage in front of a backstop to a place where aspirants for exercise and accuracy threw balls at the targets, or even stones. The targets could be drawn backward or forward by handlines ingeniously contrived for the purpose, and guests could test their throwing arms at fifteen, twenty-five, and twenty-eight meters. This was not sporting enough for a pair of urchins ten or twelve years of age, who took their stand near the targets and set up an ample supply of glass bottles in the grass. At these they threw stones until the bottles were all broken, to lie underfoot where the guests would stand for their sport at the pleasant game prepared for them. When I learned that the youngsters were the two sons of the hotel proprietor himself, I felt that the episode did not call for my intrusion! I have merely remembered it as evidence of a not unfamiliar taste for sport.

Once upon a time there was a dog named Perrito Blanco. He was slightly larger than a fox-terrier, with a spotless coat of pure white, somewhat silky-rough in texture, hair wavy rather than curly, a bushy tail with a friendly wag, and keen observation, as proved by an attentive eye and a cocked-up ear. Perhaps an undersized, alert Samoyede would be the nearest resemblance to indicate.

My wife and I were sitting on a bench in the Plaza at Guayama one August day in 1898, awaiting an appointment with Major-General John R. Brooke to seek the privilege of crossing the island to San Juan with him and his military escort, under flag of truce, to meet his American colleagues and the Spanish members of the Evacuation Commission. The armistice had been signed a week earlier. Children were playing about, some of them with dogs of this unfamiliar variety, and we made casual friends among them as one might do in any village park, the children as well as the dogs.

That evening after dinner we were summoned to the front door of the little lodging-house where we were spending the uncomfortable time of waiting for marching orders, to find two boys at the threshold, a little fellow with whom we had made acquaintance earlier, and his elder brother. On a leash they had a puppy, the choicest young specimen we had seen, and this with much politeness and manifest good-will they were proffering as a gift to the American lady who had taken notice of them in the Plaza. The gift was just a little overwhelming in the future inconvenience it promised to a pair of war correspondents, but the war was over. The dog was a beauty, and the spirit was gracious. To rebuff it would have seemed churlish. With proper acknowledgment of the gift we assumed possession, and the delighted youngsters went their way.

Our new pet was easy to christen, thanks to the family name, the dog's unspotted coat, and the Spanish diminutive for dog. Perrito Blanco—"little dog white"—became well known to the newspaper fellows, the commanding general of the U. S. Army of Occupation and his staff, the cavalry escort with which we marched across the island, and the Spanish officers who passed us through the military lines. Once in San Juan, he became a guest of the old Inglaterra Hotel, with ourselves. It was a veritable headquarters for army officers of both flags, and for naval officers on shore from the *Cincinnati,* the American cruiser where we had many good friends, anchored in harbor under command of Captain Colby M. Chester, afterwards Rear-Admiral Chester.

Perrito Blanco was mannerly and smart, just the sort to make friends for himself and be responsive to civilities. It was not hard to find a fitting place for him. The *Cincinnati* wanted a mascot, and we made the gift. More or less ceremoniously Perrito Blanco was taken on board the cruiser, introduced to new quarters, and there for many a year as dog years count, he remained in naval service, fulfilling his duties, whatever they were, this probably the first transfer of a citizenship to the new allegiance.

We came upon or had news of the *Cincinnati* in more than one port thereafter, and always with good word as to Perrito Blanco. I have always believed that the careful breeding of that variety of dog, indigenous to Puerto Rico, and the extermination of the mongrels, might have been an industry of consequence in the island, with a sporting connotation.

Chapter XXIV

HOW PUERTO RICAN NEWS IS MADE AND PLAYED

AS is the common lot of publications, newspapers in Puerto Rico are issued in the hope of profit from their operation, with advertising the chief source of the presumptive revenues and circulation the requirement upon which advertising patronage will be predicated. Real newspapers in the United States are rarely published primarily as instruments of propaganda, sweepingly committed to "diehard" fellowship with a specific political cause. Most newspapers assume or even endeavor to separate their news columns from their political affiliations and objectives, if any. Their circulation depends chiefly upon the extent, breadth, interest and accuracy of the news they print. Garbled news, even when published in support of the political attitude of the paper, is likely to cost the publication heavily in the loss of readers when they find it cannot be trusted for accuracy in its news columns.

Unhappily, the effort to maintain that rudimentary relationship of detachment between news and opinion does not seem so vigorous or constant in the papers of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is politically minded, politically self-conscious, to a degree and with an intemperate zeal far beyond what we commonly meet elsewhere in the United States. The fervor of campaigns and the individual rancors that develop remind one rather of the accounts of such partizanship in the days of "personal journalism," well before this century began, than anything we know in later years.

One result of this condition is that the newspapers of Puerto Rico are read almost exclusively by their partizans, or, rather, chosen because subscriber and editor are of common partizanship. Since the reader can be the more strongly attached to the paper the more fervently it supports their common position, the papers are edited under this concept. White is white, and red is red, and black is black; good is good, and bad is bad according to the partizanships involved. This colors news reports of everything, and its application is extended ruthlessly from the issues to the personalities.

The news account in one paper of a political meeting held in the interest of that particular party or candidate which it supports, will be carried to the extremity of space, importance, enthusiasm and acclaim, blanketing other news of far greater actual consequence, in such a way as to make it all but completely unrecognizable as the same meeting reported by another paper of the same date in the same city. The subscriber to the first paper believes and accepts the partizan glorification by headline, running account and editorial comment, and finds himself the more fortified in his own attitude as he reads. The partizan of the other paper will hardly discover that such a meeting has occurred, and in any event he finds it minimized contemptuously.

This generalization, which has its exceptions, of course, is applicable throughout the influential newspaper press of the island. Some ten percent of the entire population live in the capital city and the surrounding suburbs. The San Juan papers can reach all parts of the island within a few hours by their well-organized distribution systems, and since the capital is not only the metropolis, but also the center and origin of political and other news, they have substantial competitive advantage over local papers in the smaller cities. The characteristics of all, however, justify the same generalization.

There is no English vernacular newspaper in Puerto Rico. With a resident continental American population of not more than one percent of the total—say, 1,800 as a sufficiently close calculation—this is easily understood. There would be no adequate support for such a newspaper, which would have to find half its circulation among the less than 1,000 continentals resident in the capital district. No such publication could survive unless subsidized, and subsidized papers rarely deserve to survive.

It is with reluctance that I use the phrase "the American colony," even to define this particular circumstance. Too often it is difficult to divest it of the distasteful connotation of carpetbag imperialism with all that this implies. Nevertheless, it is here a convenient omnibus phrase of characterization, with no shadows intended. The American colony—those Americans in Puerto Rico who have gone there from the continental United States, of which they and Puerto Ricans are all citizens in common—must depend for news, and for the editorial interpretations of daily events, upon Spanish vernacular publications which most of them can read but indifferently well, and many not at all. They scan the headlines and extract some impression of the news. They find headlines and the articles that follow apparently quite inconsistent with each other. They are unsure whether they have understood the refinements of expression in a careful editorial. The neighbor who helps to translate gets some other significant meaning out of an obscure phrase.

One or two of the leading daily papers cater to this element of the population by printing one page in the English language. This is assumed to be a synopsis of the same news articles, editorials, letters from contributors, etc., as those that appear in the other pages of the same issue. Actually, much of what is offered for the readers of English is inconsequential stuff not to be found in the other pages at all, and a large part of what those Spanish pages contain, particularly the more significant things, can hardly be found mentioned in the English-language columns. The allotment of this page of English to its daily purpose commands that particular element of circulation for the papers which carry the inconsequential feature, but it does not render the service which readers expect.

It is not within the proprieties for me to attempt judgment upon the excellence of the Puerto Rican newspapers, nor yet their standards of taste, accuracy and sincerity. As a fellow-craftsman I enjoyed only the completest of courtesy in the few things they found it necessary to write about me during my recent months in the island. They seemed to realize that I felt the utmost warmth of good-will toward the island and the people; that I had no objective other than the attempt to report island conditions fairly, in the belief that understanding was the first requisite for wholesome solutions of the common problems; and that I thought highly of island potentialities under any system which would maintain continuity, order and fair dealing in the ascendency.

They knew that I believed in the type of newspaper which has been developing in the United States—imperfectly independent, accurate and fair in its news columns, and temperately analytical with a measure of justice to all elements in the editorial columns. I found my friends among Puerto Rican newspapermen regarding me as naive for holding such opinions. I do them no injustice in reporting that they published their news with a free admixture of partizanship in its coloration, because they avowed exactly that. They did not claim to be attempting accuracy or fair play in the news reports of the political events they covered. They were frank about it themselves, and, as one said, "Why have a newspaper to support our cause, and then use that paper to give the opposition the breaks, and our valuable space?"

Their sporting columns, theatrical columns, book reviews, United Press and Associated Press services, their motion picture publicity furnished by the same press agents that we have at home, all such things took the familiar form that we all know. This even went as far as recipes, first aid to the lovelorn, hints on etiquette for débutantes, "comic" strips, and all the "boiler plate" and "syndicated" department stuff that envelops so many papers at home in a fog of monotony.

When it came to Washington news, where they have regular correspondents, it was another story. That was politics. The cabled account from Washington of the same event in three or four papers at San Juan would be all but unrecognizable in the varied importance given to it and to the quoted sources of information. Utterances by the most obscure and least influential of figureheads in Congress or among propagandists, lobbyists, discredited demagogues without an audience or a following, presuming to have an opinion about anything Puerto Rican, and always happy to pontificate, occupy "scareheads" and blanket the papers as cable-news of high significance, when neither the man nor the attitude will ever be heard of in the United States, as any American friend of the editor could tell him. The Washington correspondents for *El Mundo, La Democracia, El Imparcial, El Pais, La Correspondencia,* and others, often have spectacular political news of high import to be cabled to their respective journals, but not necessarily the same news, and neither needing to follow the other's news the next day, so lightly grounded in actualities it may be.

The daily papers are all crusaders. Violent partizanship furnishes enough subjects for crusading by each paper in its own field of party affiliations. To attack the others is always easy. To an extent not customary in continental American papers, the Puerto Rico dailies give conspicuous prominence to interviews, and particularly to written communications from the party heads or from others of party fellowship discussing party questions and platform attitudes. The papers print many columns of such stuff, often giving their most valuable news space to it instead of relegating contributions to an inside page or to a department. Such letters are frequently carried as the newspaper's own editorial columns for the day, which, of course, is an economy of labor.

There is little of the give-and-take in such things, or the spirit of an open forum. More than one Puerto Rican revealed it as his personal grievance, and a valid criticism of the local press, that excellent letters, quite demolishing some one's prior utterance, had been refused space by the editor who was unwilling to print rejoinders! The fixed complaint was that papers would print supporting letters and interviews upholding their own side of a subject, and not give equal space to letters in reply, demolishing the editor's point of view! Which complaint, in a place where partizan politics and a partizan press are perfervid, I offer as a bit of naïveté rivaling my own!

I may seem to be treating lightly this situation which I regard as extremely serious. Almost were Puerto Ricans even recently driven to the resolution that they should purchase some local paper, or finance a new one, so as to have an organ in which they might present their sober, conservative, constructive points of view in behalf of island relationships with the Federal Government and with the continental United States.

Such plans did not come to quick fruition, but the agitation was itself a step forward. Public utterances by thoughtful Puerto Ricans in their personal capacity, and by such a journal as they might establish, would go far toward placing island facts in proper perspective. The insular press as it now exists falls far short of representing responsible public opinion, or of correcting the manifold misunderstandings which percolate into the United States.

It is the accustomed distress of Americans traveling abroad that the English and European papers publish little of illuminating importance in the cable news from home. Prizefights, cyclones, crimes and strikes have clear right-of-way in the columns of the European press, and all else is of minor consequence. The same disproportion troubles the continental American in Puerto Rico, and the Puerto Rican American in the United States.

The island citizen traveling in the North and looking for news of his island in the daily press finds it chiefly when there is an outbreak of mob violence, an attempted assassination, a political utterance sufficiently insurrectionary to incite disorder even though it has no dimensions whatever, or a prize-fight in some arena in which a Puerto Rican appears in the ring. The continental American visiting Puerto Rico finds that same stuff in his daily paper, such being the easier and the more dynamic news to print. Such parts of it as may be deceptively political have the right-of-way, only to rebound into the island again by the momentum given to them through extravagant editorial comment or congressional fervor.

A natural result of such standards and habits in the newspaper situation is the issuance of ephemeral publications, a survival of the pamphleteer impulse. Such outgivings, of course, are always published in Spanish. They are usually the impassioned utterances of a political crusader, frequently issued without adequate provision for any distribution or financial support. But if a sufficiently theatrical title be chosen suggesting that tragedy is to be the hapless lot of Puerto Rico unless the author's ideas are put into effect, even such ephemera may obtain a circulation and become an influence.

In these comments on the form which daily journalism takes in Puerto Rico, I do not cover the field of the weekly and monthly periodical press, or Puerto Rico's contribution to literature in other forms. It is interesting, however, to take note that the leading newspaper in influence and prosperity, *El Mundo*, had its virtual origin and early impetus as a development from an illustrated weekly, issued with substantial success by the same owners and expanded. By such process the by-product became the enterprise of the larger substance.

Outbound news as manufactured or gathered for transmission from the island is of no less importance than the inbound news for publication locally. At least two of the national news-gathering organizations, the Associated Press and the United Press, are represented in San Juan, assuring daily cable service to all United States newspapers. Each of these resident correspondents, maintained primarily for the coverage of cable news, is also the insular special correspondent for an important daily newspaper in New York: Mr. Harwood Hull for the New York *Times*, and Mr. William F. O'Reilly for the New York *Herald Tribune*. Except for the unusual responsibility inexorably attached to these noteworthy assignments, I would not single them out in this manner for comment. Since their unsigned cable news reaches almost every American paper, and their signed dispatches and articles are likewise widely observed, I take the liberty of volunteering my judgment for the reassurance of readers.

Based upon wide travel through years of service as a newspaper correspondent in many lands, it is my opinion that those two national press organizations and those newspapers, are extremely well represented in their Puerto Rican posts. They have at their command the advantages of long residence, familiarity with the language, history, politics and personalities, and an unprejudiced good-will to all concerned.

Mr. Hull, after responsible newspaper experience in various parts of the continental United States, was himself for a number of years the editor and publisher of a San Juan paper, then published in English but no longer issued. Mr. O'Reilly gained his first newspaper experience in the same office, and of late years, besides a newspaperman, has been a professor in the English department of the University of Puerto Rico. They have understanding, perspective, and knowledge as well as sympathy for the continental United States as truly as for insular Puerto Rico. In so far as atmosphere and editorial attitudes do appear in the news they send, they are not there for the purpose of deception or propaganda, but because such elements are almost inextricable. Events without coloration do not commonly happen in the news that germinates in the island.

The resident correspondent in such a post as San Juan, with political incidents as a chief source of news, with Puerto Rican personalities and relationships unclear to the readers "back home," and his own friendships and social life largely related to that "American colony" which is itself measurably political in its news-making activities, has troubles of his own.

He knows that he must be as accurate and as fair in his reporting of the news as lies within his power, or his position will not survive. He knows that accuracy and fairness will be variously interpreted by the partizans of every affiliation whose facts, in all sincerity, are colored by their sympathies. He must live among those people and the events that develop around them year after year, as well as with the "American colony" and its divergent sympathies and interests. If he does not live with and among them, all his sources of news will vanish. If he treats them all fairly, some will blame him for understatement and others for overstatement. If impassioned complaints, corrections and controversions reach the home office too often, he will become a storm center there, with uncertainty as to his soundness of judgment and his acceptability.

While resident newspaper correspondents in such a post, with a background of understanding which checks them against the hazards of error, are sending actualities of news to the home press, garbled stuff from partizan crusaders, news of public meetings hardly more important than a gathering of the "three tailors of Tooley street," can be turned loose through propaganda channels as significant events. Irresponsible messages to uninformed Congressmen, swallowed whole and released with gusto as news from Washington, or from vociferous meetings little concerned whether facts are embodied, may capture the headlines. Residents of the island may wish that the newspaper correspondents might use their facts more freely, might be more editorial and argumentative on one side or the other, might tell all that they really know, instead of staying inside the libel laws. But the recognition that those who gather and send the news must live and command friendly, confidential relationships with all elements, or become useless in the positions they fill, justifies this paragraph from a fellow-craftsman.

Chapter XXV

THE ADVENT OF ALBIZU CAMPOS

THE practise of politics in Puerto Rico, and the career of the most confusing figure in island affairs, force recurrence to the name of Pedro Albizu Campos for more detailed attention. Without this, news and issues cannot be followed with adequate understanding. We are somewhat accustomed to the "elder statesmen" who come and go with the years, but here is one man who has so mixed contradictory qualities as to become a dynamic mystery.

The names of political parties in Puerto Rico have been reframed so frequently, old parties vanishing and new ones appearing, that they have but little clarity to transient readers. Even when their captions have coincided with those of the national parties in the United States, there has been fair reason to fear sometimes that they were used primarily as trade labels rather than because they possessed a common identity.

Each of the two major parties in Puerto Rico affiliates in a measure with one of the dominant parties in the United States, so they are granted delegation rights in the national conventions, and recognition in the patronage which follows national elections. These delegations have their internal strife, just as do state delegations in the continental North. Party management in the national relationship is largely in the hands of resident Americans in the island—old-time Americans—but Puerto Rican control in insular issues is all but complete. All such matters take pattern familiar enough at home. Politics is a profession in the island as truly as up North, and somewhat more emotional.

Combinations for election purposes have been an island habit. In 1924 there were four separate parties, each with a ticket in the field. Four years later there were but two general tickets. Two parties, *Union de Puerto Rico* and *Republicano Puertorriqueño* combined, and were known as the *Alianza.* The *Socialista-Constitutional* and the party popularly known as *Republicano Puro* voted for the same candidates, this combination known as the Coalition. It was in this election that a new movement for independence made its first appearance, the *Nationalista* party, under the leadership of Albizu Campos, which polled an aggregate of 343 votes in two municipalities. The Alliance polled 132,826 votes and the Coalition 123,415.

Still four years later, in the quadrennial election of 1932, the party names show further change. This time three principal political groups were striving for power. These were the Liberal party, led by Senator Antonio R. Barcelo, which was formed in 1929 as a result of a split in the Puerto Rican Alliance; the Union-Republican party, led by Senator Rafael Martinez Nadal, which comprised the remainder of the Puerto Rican Alliance plus the old Pure Republican party; and the *Socialista* party, led by Senator Santiago Iglesias. This latter was actually "a labor party, with a misleading name" and Iglesias became strongly committed to the advocacy of statehood. The Liberal party had independence as an ultimate goal, though a considerable element of this party preferred an autonomous government under the American flag rather than independence. The Union-Republican party was in favor of statehood, or complete autonomy under the protection of the United States. In addition, the Nationalist party, still small, favored immediate independence at any cost.

At home in the United States, every one knows what the familiar beckoning signal means, and what form it takes. Mothers have summoned their children by that "time-to-come-in" gesture of arm and hand for many a generation. It may be a reminder that supper is ready, that school "home work" must not be forgotten, or that the chores are yet to be done. In Puerto Rico another code manual must be learned. The signals are not the same. When the Puerto Rican wants to beckon affirmatively, with a graphic "come hither," he makes the motions that the American would translate as "go away," in exact reverse of our customary sign.

This is not intended to suggest that there is a parallel to be found in the political gesturing which has been done of late years. But it is no less anomalous, and no less requires explanation if it is to be understood by our bewildered selves. If the groping hostility of the misguided few who clamor for sudden severance of all ties with the United States arouses the real latent spirit of the island in rejoinder, the anomalies, at least, will be ended.

In its entirety, it is an unreasonable, incredible circumstance that confronts this well-intentioned country of ours. We became the instrumentality which freed the island from the typical oppressions of Spain; we gave or made possible the steadily enlarging blessings of education, sanitation and communication; we established a Bill of Rights, and a liberty of thought, speech and life unexcelled in all the world; we conferred an increasing measure of self-government by various enactments, always with more of such assured as experience and the practise of self-government might warrant. When disasters of nature or of economics wrought intolerable loss we hurried to the relief, with men, money and good-will, given ungrudgingly.

Perhaps errors have been made, understandings not reached, or action delayed. But no Puerto Rican in a serious moment would ever contend that the American people have been ill-intentioned in their relationship with the island. Uninformed, perhaps; neglectful, perhaps; but oppressive, never! Yet here we are after nearly forty years of well-intended liberality and complete good-will, confused by the contradictory signals emanating from an island for which we wished nothing but peace and happiness. Personally, economically and morally free the people are, and politically far along that open road. We are the ones who are actually bound, by the obligations of entangled circumstance. And so we read aghast at the tenor of the news—restlessness, reproaches and outbreaks in the name of liberty; sporadic efforts at a campaign of terrorism against the United States; and even an experimental suggestion of revolution by assassination as the political process of superseding the American regime by a reign of chaos!

From the first organization of island parties, the leader's manifesto rather than the party's platform became the rallying-point of partizanship. Astute leaders, emotional leaders and the personal equation counted for more than did the oracular planks of a platform. And from that very first period of free speech party leaders have found the subject of the present and future relationship of Puerto Rico to the United States the one most easily enlivened and turned to practical use.

The subject permitted an easy vagueness of words which could be explained and re-explained to fit changing conditions. No one in the United States possessed the gift of prophecy or the power to promise what might some day befall. Our attitude was that irrevocable statehood in our Union must be a reward conferred only after proof that it was deserved, rather than a gift for which appreciation might be proved thereafter. Island politicians found that they need not define just what enlarged self-government, statehood, autonomy, protectorate or any other magic word might mean under statutes not yet drawn. Nor did they suggest how far they would be willing to relieve the Federal government of its heavy expenditures and relinquishments of funds granted to the island.

Only Albizu Campos could risk the use of plain words, angry threats and impossible promises. He demanded instant and complete independence. The leader of a small minority party is not catechized as to why the Promised Land is not flowing with milk and honey. Hence the present anomaly of Albizu

Campos, the imprisoned leader of several thousand devotees; a man who has had long opportunity to interpret Americans correctly and has failed utterly to understand them; the Puerto Rican whose name is best known in all the United States; and the only one who compels the allotment of a chapter almost all his own!

"Pedro" can paint next year's Puerto Rico as a veritable Utopia when once the American yoke is cast off, and never be questioned by his followers. He can formulate an indictment of all Americans, their motives, and the devastations they have wrought, as damning as the letter quoted in an earlier chapter, and yet it is unthinkable that he should believe what was there written as fact. He can lead his followers to believe that the United States will pay Puerto Rico an indemnity of $100,000,000 a year for the period of forty years' occupancy ending in 1938, the resulting $4,000,000,000 to make the island prosperous and impregnable. Of course there are members of the Nationalist party who take no stock in such fairy tales, but "the lunatic fringe" is highly emotional—and vocal. In Puerto Rico, Pedro Albizu Campos, while still a young man, became a legendary figure around whom gathered a fog of fiction and tradition. The man has magic in his personality, his fervor, and his deftness in turning to account (even if he does not do the fabricating himself) such fabrications as lend themselves to the luster of legend.

"Pedro is gifted," said one cynical phrase-maker who has known him for many years, "in his ability to foretell the past and look back at the future. Some day there will be a Parson Weems to write a book about him, as full of fairy tales as the life of George Washington, with new-hatchet-and-cherry-tree stories." My friend was not aiming to be derogatory, nor yet complimentary, but realistic. Nor did he mean to bracket Albizu Campos with Washington in any other way.

Oddly enough, the sternest critics of Albizu Campos find excuses for him in certain fabricated legends now crystallized.

Long before the political outbreaks charged to his leadership, it was an accepted story that his bitterness was born at Harvard University out of his sense of outrage for treatment there. How it started is not clear, but certainly his followers adopted the explanation. A little tawdry it seems, even if his grievances had all been real, to imagine that the rôle of liberator of an oppressed island from the yoke of American tyranny could be born of so narrow a circumstance as the fact that his Alma Mater did not treat him fairly. And yet such a minor grievance, whether real or imaginary, is dignified with that degree of importance.

The story falls into various forms because no one pretends to have more than hearsay knowledge. I heard it all over Puerto Rico, alike from his most fervid supporters and idolaters, telling it intemperately, and from the sturdiest of American reactionaries with no use whatever for "Pedro," speaking apologetically for the poor followers of a soured victim of what once happened at Harvard—which legend they had completely adopted as true. The same tales persist in the United States, printed in serious articles as part of the character study of the unhappy young man. Perhaps the worst thing Albizu Campos has done is to let such stuff circulate uncorrected, with all its potentialities of harm, through misplaced sympathy for "the unfairness he suffered." Never except from those who had traced it down to a matter of record or who knew the truth out of their own contacts, did I hear the fable contradicted.

This introduction has been of greater length than could be deserved except as it accounts for much of the Campos complex which commands American sympathy for the imprisoned leader of a deluded following. Campos is not to be minimized except arithmetically. Here are the essentials of the accepted story.

Albizu Campos was a schoolboy at Ponce not so many years ago, the son of a dark mother and a white father. Not until he was a young man did the father make personal acknowledgment of the paternity. But Pedro was a smart youngster, his schoolboy career was creditable, and he was regarded as a promising half-caste boy. Apparently his father took pride in the youth, and after some time at the University of Puerto Rico funds were made available for him to enter Harvard.

I have two friends who were in Harvard with him, and remember him well as a familiar figure on the campus. A somewhat dour eccentric he was regarded, and generally believed to be from India or some other far-away land, himself a Hindu or almost anything rather than of mixed African blood. He was a fair student, but not more. He had as much entry to campus life as other students of alien race and characteristics. No Alma Mater can foist a student into fellowship with the student group. But Harvard as an institution was not particularly harsh to the lonesome youth from Puerto Rico. He needed more money than the resources available from Ponce, and the University lent him money, as it does hosts of other students, to see him through as his scholarship justified. A Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, and a Law degree seem to have been earned in residence. The notes he gave to Harvard for repayment of money loaned are said to be still in the dormant assets. No disgrace in an unpaid note in recent years! Albizu Campos had his financial difficulties common to mankind. Puerto Rico was in the depths. A young lawyer's earnings in Ponce or in San Juan must have been thin picking.

Here now is the interpolated part of the record which carries the sting. The fabricated story, never sufficiently particularized to enable exact statement, exact tracing and exact contradiction, has it that at the close of the Albizu Campos career in Harvard there was held some competitive examination, with high distinction and rich reward the prize at stake. Sometimes the story has it occur during the post-graduate period. Sometimes it is attached to the law school. Be that as it may, as the hero-worshipers have it, the young man went triumphantly to the head of his class and of his college, earned the prize, and established his distinction and scholarship.

Then came the crash of disappointment. The reward was to be a trip to Europe to represent Harvard in an international gathering or competition of some sort where the youthful scholars of all the world would meet, compete, and establish fellowship. Such glory could not be permitted to descend upon Albizu Campos. For a half-caste Puerto Rican to represent Harvard University in a world-competition was too much to permit. And so he was notified that glory had passed him by, and his earned distinction was not to be conferred upon him. Grieved and embittered, he returned to his island home with a new understanding of the American people and the United States!

The story contains another detail based on the Albizu Campos experience in the World War. The United States had joined the Allies, and the young Puerto Rican offered himself for training as an officer. The camp where this would place him had none but white students. It was suggested that he should take his training in another camp and this he did, embittered by the color line thus drawn against him. He served with credit in the Negro regiment to which he was assigned, but he could not forgive or understand the slight he had undergone. This was the background behind him when he visioned a political career.

Resentful of island conditions, stirred by eloquent upbraidings and the misapplied vocabulary of patriotism, deluded by false hopes and impossible promises, inflamed by fervid, irresponsible leadership, it is not strange that an element which might have been a constructive enlistment of Puerto Rican youth to share the solving of island problems developed under warped idealism into an instrumentality of violence. The time came when that nucleus which had named itself the Nationalist party could cast four thousand votes instead of four hundred —but before that time the news was blood-stained.

The compact and congested island of Puerto Rico, entirely subdivided into its seventy-seven municipalities, has as its traffic, peace, law and order force only one constabulary, known as the Insular Police. They are all Puerto Ricans, under one command, serving where sent. Their total of something less than nine hundred officers and men does not seem excessive for an island with population nearing 1,800,000, an area of 3,435 square miles, and several cities where there are real traffic complications to be handled. Towns and cities have no local, municipal police forces. The insular police are selected men, well drilled and taught, well paid, most of them speaking some English, and the islanders generally are justly proud of the force.

Parenthetically, it should be noted again that the 65th Infantry Regiment of the United States Army, stationed at El Morro and at Cayey, is entirely Puerto Rican. The island regiment of the National Guard is also completely Puerto Rican in personnel. The same is true as to the student battalions in the University, except as the comparatively few Americans in attendance are also in line for the required military drill and training.

Reciprocal dislike, suspicion, nervousness and truculence may not have been congenital in such two organizations as the police and the Nationalists, but if not they were prompt in developing. When clashes occurred they did not spare one another. Incipient riots and outbreaks on a small scale became symptomatic. Albizu Campos began the sponsoring of an "army of liberation." The police were soon convinced that secret drilling by a uniformed *Nationalista* force was under way, in preparation for armed action. Furtive things were going on, the signs were ominous.

No one should adopt the mistaken assumption that the student body of the University of Puerto Rico had gone *Nationalista*. Those young men and women were as varied in their political opinions as the students in an American college would be. And by no means all of them liked what Albizu Campos was saying and doing as a Nationalist leader with a Messianic complex. In fact, they did not like what he was saying about the University and its student body. One night late in the fall of 1935 a meeting was called by the students to proclaim their protest and declare their attitude. It was a natural stage-setting for an intramural outbreak and the manufacture of news.

Informed as to what was threatening on the campus at Rio Piedras, the police intercepted an automobile in which five Nationalists had made ready to "crash" the meeting by whatever means they might find effective. The car was a veritable arsenal of bombs and guns. The quintet opened fire, the police shot it out with them, and the net result was four Nationalists dead. At the public services which followed, Albizu Campos delivered what was characterized as an inflammatory funeral oration, swearing vengeance upon the police and the American authorities.

At that time, Col. E. Francis Riggs, a former American army officer, was chief of the Insular Police. Personally he was popular with the Puerto Ricans, a Roman Catholic, and himself a believer in the ultimate independence of the island. After a few exciting weeks of emotional tension, the bright Sunday forenoon of February 23, 1936, brought a culminating crime. Returning from church, Colonel Riggs halted his automobile across the street from the post-office and sent his chauffeur for the mail. Unarmed, the Colonel then waited in his car at the curb, hailing friends and unsuspecting of danger. Two young men stopped, ostensibly to speak to him, stepped to the running-board, and without warning fired several pistol-shots at the defenseless officer. Colonel Riggs died before reaching the hospital.

Following their almost immediate arrest, the assassins were taken to police headquarters for questioning. By a friend who saw them there I am told that they were in a state of elation over the success of their crime, dramatizing and heroizing themselves, and expectant of early release under bail.

It is to be remembered that under the Puerto Rican penal code there is no capital punishment for any crime; also that all offenses, including homicide, are bailable. There is a constant annual increase in the number of homicides, and with hardly an exception those charged with such crimes obtain bail. Such offenders seem to be all but lionized in the circles that gather around them. They are "bad men," with a certain glory attaching to them in the estimation of their satellites. No sense of shock seems to accompany the offender, but more likely a swagger, and men with more than one metaphorical notch in their guns wear an additional halo. The percentage of acquittals in murder cases is shockingly high. Trial by jury is established, but a better concept of jury obligation is yet to be developed.

In this instance the familiar pattern was not followed. Instead, shots from the inner room announced new tragedy. The police reported that the two prisoners had made a sudden break toward a rack of arms, aiming to shoot their way out, and had been killed in the attempt. No witnesses existed other than the police. To believe or disbelieve the reported details, to wish that something else had occurred, something other than more tragedy, could change no fact nor furnish other light upon it. At least the worthy people of Puerto Rico were filled with indignant grief, and the funeral of Colonel Riggs was attended by sympathetic thousands as a mark of protest against the atrocious crime of his assassination.

The public opinion of the island, Puerto Rican and American alike, was torn with mixed emotions. Police action, court action and political action all followed in a confusing chronology. Leaders in every party except "the extreme left wing" group hastened to deplore the crime, express their own abhorrence of it, and call for peace and the administration of justice under the law. Few men of political consequence failed to express themselves thus. The Nationalists, naturally, made no such gesture. To do so would have been a futile disavowal of what had been frankly charged against some of them as their own crime, an expression of their own political policy.

The Liberals, with prior advocacy of independence as a political issue, knew that the path of assassination could not lead to political freedom. Such a crime was revolting and abhorrent, and besides that, it was a blunder. Whatever might be helpful to the cause of independence, certainly terrorism would not advance it.

At that time Luis Muñoz Marin, son of the late patriot Luis Muñoz Rivera, and himself a literary figure, was representing the Liberal party in Washington as lobbyist. He had enjoyed some personal favor in administration circles, and had been credited, perhaps unduly, with some influence in the allocation of relief funds and the determining of relief measures and projects, as one in fellowship with Dr. Chardon. When the news of the assassination reached Washington he was one of the few men of consequence who neglected adequate disavowal and rebuke. That omission was disastrous to his standing with the Federal administration, and Senator Barcelo, president of the party and wise in political strategy, felt that his protégé's usefulness was at an end. Promptly the Liberal party expelled Muñoz Marin, terminating his Washington assignment.

Even that did not save the party. At the next election, in the fall of 1936, the Liberals were overwhelmingly defeated by the Coalition, which obtained control of both houses of the legislature. The Nationalists, with island independence still their slogan, cast their 4,000 votes out of a total 300,000.

Thus Puerto Rico entered 1937 in high hope from improving conditions. Barcelo's Liberal party, with its leanings toward independence, was moderating its position and temporizing under the shock of the Riggs assassination; Albizu Campos, with his Nationalists, was politically eliminated, unless martyrdom in Atlanta could be capitalized; and Muñoz Marin, with a crusader's status, could only attempt to build a party of his own. Supporting this movement, certain elements calling themselves the left wing of the Liberals broke away from what had been their party, charging the organization leaders with betrayal of the cause of independence, and Muñoz Marin was elected as president of this new and unnamed party.

Chapter XXVI

THE UNITED STATES TAKES NOTICE OF PUERTO RICO

CLAMOR and crime were producing one unexpected result for Puerto Rico. For the first time, many Americans really focused some attention upon the affairs of this Caribbean island, only to discover that they did not know enough about it to guide them toward understanding. The shock of the Riggs assassination and the events that followed stirred more emotion than reason. It was all incredible and inexplicable!

News went back and forth between island and continental papers. Editorials interpreted things for better or for worse. Members of Congress gave out oracular interviews. Organizations with impressive names passed passionate resolutions rendering long-distance verdicts and recommending action based on misinformation or none. Extra-official, extra-legal "commissions of inquiry" made investigations and reports in a manner calculated to be least helpful. Worst of all, a liberal press in the United States, well-motivated but not yet infallible, apportioned the blame for all the sorry events too easily, and found solutions as simple as the demand that this official or that functionary "must go," echoing the very clamor of the disturbing island elements!

Just two months from the day of the Riggs assassination the Tydings Bill providing for an early plebiscite and a presumptive island independence was introduced in the United States Senate, the manner of the action such as to aggravate every misunderstanding and dishearten the loyal Puerto Rican Americans. In less than another month Representative Zioncheck was in Puerto Rico, thrusting some of his worst manifestations upon the amazed islanders. Before the middle of May the National Guard was ordered out in San Juan to suppress high-school student riots. There was a student strike as a demonstration of feeling against Americans, and plate-glass was broken in the American store windows on the principal shopping streets of San Juan. The insular police were called in from outlying posts to restore and maintain order.

That was in May. In June, Policeman Orlando Colon was killed in San Juan by a young member of the *Nationalistas*, Carlos Juan Marchand Paz, who was convicted of murder six months later, with a recommendation of clemency. (In that trial, a dramatic incident occurred. When the verdict of the jury was rendered, the nineteen-year-old prisoner, son of a Baptist clergyman, cried out that if Pedro Albizu Campos and Juan Antonio Corretjer, president and secretary of the Nationalist party, were brought into court, he would tell the whole truth. At that time they were awaiting the result of their own appeal from prior conviction in the Federal court. No clear interpretation of the significance of Marchand's outcry was forthcoming.)

In August, Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York (destined to be defeated for reelection in the approaching November landslide), after a flamboyant two weeks' journey to the island, was highly vocal in Harlem where many of New York's Puerto Ricans live. Ten thousand of them paraded and "demonstrated" under banners demanding "Free Puerto Rico" and "Down with Yankee Imperialism!"

Meanwhile, Albizu Campos was in jail. It was too late to bring the men who murdered Colonel Riggs to trial. Penalty had been swift upon them. But quick arrest of Albizu and a group of his followers, and quick search of concealments from which witnesses and evidence were assembled, had put him and them into a new jeopardy. The Federal courts were to be reckoned with, and a broader charge than crime of sudden impulse, more comprehensive than mere sedition. Albizu Campos, American citizen, with a number of his companions, was indicted under the Federal statutes, charged with "conspiracy to oppose by force the authority of the United States, incite rebellion, and recruit soldiers to serve in armed hostility against the United States"—which is a privilege that the Bill of Rights seems to have omitted. Their rush to "free speech" coverage under the United States Constitution and flag was poor defense.

In the first trial of Albizu Campos and his co-defendants the jury reported disagreement. The second trial resulted in a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of imprisonment at Atlanta for Albizu and his associates for terms ranging from six to ten years. "Demonstrations" in Puerto Rico and in the United States began to taper off, and as facts became better known, the wave of misplaced sympathies diminished little by little, with the approach of the November election.

The trials had established Albizu as something less than the heroic leader of a lost cause. "He lost all chance to register himself as another Toussaint l'Ouverture," said one of his more sympathetic acquaintances to me. And another, "Even his co-defendants think he should have pleaded his devotion to the island as a challenge, an emotional defense, and a basis for martyrdom, rather than attempt to contravene the indictment. He spoke up for himself rather than for his followers."

Albizu's defense had been conducted by distinguished counsel, insular and continental, and his conviction in the United States District Court in Puerto Rico did not end their efforts. Motions for bail pending appeal, for a new trial based on new evidence, and all the rest of the proper legalistic formalities took their customary course, to be argued before the trial court and finally denied. Appeal then ran to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in Boston, and finally to the United States Supreme Court in Washington. Every appeal privilege was utilized, able lawyers presented their briefs and oral arguments, and each effort in turn ended with another confirmation of the trial and conviction.

Under Federal Court procedure, a defendant sentenced to imprisonment at Atlanta is taken there to begin his term at once, unless he elects to remain in the local jail, pending appeal proceedings. In such case there is no crediting of that period of incarceration at home, upon the prison term to be served as penalty. Albizu so elected, encouraged, presumably, by friends and counsel, and assuredly by the American Civil Liberties Union which had interested itself in his cause. The net result was that not until June 7, 1937, were the eight men taken by airplane to Atlanta, a fruitless delay of more than ten months in beginning the service of the sentences. Albizu Campos headed the list, a ten-year term confronting him.

In the chronicling of the Albizu Campos annals without undue digression, other events have been unduly neglected. Significant things were happening in other island affairs, particularly in the field of politics. Crime had its place, as truly as education and industry. To interpret things as recent as news events, while facts are still in the gathering, details in dispute, and courts functioning, may too easily become prejudicial. But an outlook into the island future need not overlook things of the passing moment.

When the legislature met in early February for its regular 1937 session, there began what newspapers called an era of good feeling. The overwhelming victory of the Coalition in the November election established its control of both houses, and the Liberal minority announced that it would name no opposition candidates for legislative offices. It was Puerto Rico's first such unanimity. Rafael Martinez Nadal was elected President of the Senate, and Miguel Angel Garcia Mendez, Speaker of the House of Representatives. They as leaders of the victorious Coalition, and Senator Antonio R. Barcelo, veteran leader and president of the Liberal party, exchanged compliments and foresaw harmony in the ascendent.

Within the next month, Senator Barcelo took occasion to pass sharp criticism upon the newest gesture toward independence, a bill introduced in Congress by Representative Wilburn Cartwright of Oklahoma. The fact that it was somewhat more considerate and less precipitate than the dormant Tydings Bill did not let it escape acrid comment in Puerto Rico. Barcelo characterized it as "impertinent" thus to thrust possible premature independence upon the island. Since his party had long carried an independence plank in its platform, he explained its present attitude by saying, "Our aim of ultimate independence has not only not been discarded, it has been strengthened. But we first seek to attain economic independence by means of the reconstruction program."

This meant that time and PRRA were to be permitted a chance to help the island out of its troubles. Luis Muñoz Marin fulminated on the left, but the majorities in power were too great to be overthrown by his excitable leadership. He and Chardon were out of favor with PRRA. Their one-time friend, Dr. Ernest Gruening, whose natural sympathies had once leaned impulsively toward early independence, learned much from his first months as Administrator of PRRA, and made his later conclusions known—that independence would be fatal to the island's welfare. Commissioner Santiago Iglesias was in sympathetic favor in Washington, following a political assassin's attempt upon his life at Mayagüez when he was speaking from the steps of the city hall just before the November election. His wounds had healed and his assailant, a young Nationalist named Domingo Salteri Crespo, had been convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Right then was interjected the outbreak at Ponce on March 21, Palm Sunday by the church calendar, which will have its tragic place in the history of Puerto Rico for many a year.

Between the Nationalists and the insular police there was no "era of good feeling." The police never forgot the assassination of their chief, the symbol of their organization. They regarded themselves as the instrumentality of law and order, and they knew how bitterly they were hated by the followers of Albizu Campos. The Nationalists remembered "the campus killings," and the quick death of the two young murderers at police headquarters on the day of Col. Riggs' assassination. Those events and others of minor consequence had bred what has been variously interpreted as an undeclared feud, a sensitive trigger-finger and an undoubted nervous awareness that trouble was just around the corner. All of this calling for self-control, order, and peace. In Puerto Rico!

In Ponce there was to be a Nationalist parade on Palm Sunday, a semi-military parade, undoubtedly intended to be of some significance. A police permit had been issued. The permit was revoked, after later consideration by higher authorities, who sensed a threat of disorder. The Nationalists declared they were going to parade anyway. They assembled at their clubhouse—or armory, as some have called it. The police were there too, and the crowd of onlookers. A command, a step, a halt, the opening of gunfire, and then, tragedy.

The sequence, the blame, and some of the facts will be forever disputed. But one fact is that near a score of men were killed—and a hundred or more wounded, a few of the police, but many more of the paraders. The police and the civil authorities, reporting their factual inquiry to Governor Winship, found all blame to lie with the Nationalists, for the plans they had formed and the opening of fire upon the police from streets and house-tops. The Nationalists placed all blame upon the police, as themselves inciting the hostilities and opening fire upon a peaceful parade in which there were no weapons.

Still in the courts, still indeterminate at this writing, it would require a volume to relate the findings of fact and opinion, and this book is not the medium of judgment. There is not yet a completed judicial determination—and if and when there is, no partizan will budge one inch from his original opinion that he knows just where all the blame should rest. Preconceived opinions on such events are impregnable. And the oracular findings of self-appointed committees can do more to crystallize error in the minds of the uninformed than half a dozen sober court hearings could overtake. The tragedy was pitiful, and it was wrong. Only on so much of a verdict, could there be no disagreement.

The sequels of such events reveal the way in which immature devotees are led into footless crime. Within a week after the Ponce street battle an eighteen-year-old boy—an ardent Nationalist—stowed away on the *Coamo,* largest liner in service to Puerto Rico, and undertook to set the ship on fire when one day at sea. Discovered in ample time, there was no great harm done, but the intent of the misguided youth was no better than destruction.

The next day after Albizu Campos and his seven fellow-prisoners left San Juan by plane for Atlanta, Judge Robert A. Cooper of the United States District Court, who had passed sentence upon them after conviction nearly a year before, barely escaped death from ambush as he drove to his own home in the pleasant residential suburb of Condado. The assailants were grouped about an automobile upon which they appeared to be working, and as the Judge's car passed they opened fire. For a few seconds there was a fusillade. One bullet pierced the windshield, narrowly missing Detective Francisco Davila, the Judge's personal bodyguard.

After a career as lawyer, governor of South Carolina, and member of Congress, Judge Cooper was appointed United States District Judge for Puerto Rico in January, 1934. Himself personally well liked in the island, the attempted assassination was obviously directed against him in his official capacity, as an act of political terrorism. The arrest of ten Nationalists soon followed, under the charge that they had conspired to assassinate Judge Cooper. Arraigned in the Federal Court, they were fingerprinted and admitted to heavy bail. Fighting the procedure, Julio Pinto Garcia, acting president of the Nationalist party, screamed that his constitutional rights were being invaded!

Such is the spirit in which the idealistic cause of liberty was finding its misguided expression under Nationalist leadership by mid-1937. It is not surprising that many Puerto Ricans, who had aspirations toward independence for the island's future destiny, have turned toward problems closer at hand. They do not reprehend the punishment of mature leaders for conspiracy, when impassioned young followers commit the crimes which their seniors merely recommend. More than once in Puerto Rico I heard the citation of Abraham Lincoln and his persistent unwillingness to sign death warrants for young deserters while the elder "Copperheads," who were merely urging them to desert, went scot free. Puerto Ricans saw the logic of holding the leaders responsible too!

The investigating visitor who finds thoughtful friends and confidants has personal frankness granted to him in unexpected quarters. But such a crusaders' party as the *Nationalistas*, with the penalized and all-but-canonized Albizu still its chosen leader, dare not stop to be publicly temperate or logical. For public consumption, the oddly-jumbled mixture of membership must not relinquish any part of its "leftist" position or any syllable of its demand for instant independence. One fraction of its total comes out of the University student body, and a smaller fraction from the faculty, these being an entirely normal contribution of "the intelligentsia" to political restlessness at any time and place. This student fraction enables Rio Piedras to become clamorous on short notice, with preconceived opinions, oratory and resolutions determining just what has happened on any subject at any time, even though the number who assume to crystallize things may be small. So news for the public is created. Neither this group, nor the political and cultural circle which enlarges from it, has any real affiliation with the mass opinion which Nationalist leaders seek to enlist. Nor are they all either "pink" or "red," but variously idealistic, academic—and inelastic.

Not one such with whom I talked contended that the industrial, economic and social welfare of Puerto Rico would be served by that academic objective of theirs—immediate independence. Not one of them wanted it without a continuance of American financial and international support. They admitted that Puerto Rico could not possibly carry its own cost of government, education, sanitation, or any real establishment of prosperity except under the relationship of citizenship, money and markets now existing with the United States.

To the query, "Would not instant independence mean island chaos?" came the bland reply, "Yes, but it would be our own chaos! We have a right to be free!" No more forbidding picture of what would follow in the event of independence could be painted by the opponents of that policy than what was admitted by the advocates themselves in private conversation. And opponents in many instances declared that before such a catastrophe should occur, they would salvage what they could and remove to the United States at any sacrifice, cherishing the American citizenship which they have learned to prize. Also they averred that some of the more vocal of the political leaders of the *independista* movement, as well as the academic group, would be the first to seek northbound sailings in the event of actuality. "Only those on top of the chaos could endure such an island tragedy," was the sad comment I heard more than once from devoted Puerto Ricans.

It would be useless to attempt a measurement of the dimensions of the Nationalist movement. Computed by its voting strength, it would seem all but negligible. Friends in the membership aver that this is no measure of its unidentified support. Friends in opposition declare that the movement is weakening instead of gaining, and that improving island conditions tend to reduce the emotional drift toward the cause of independence, as people give heed to actualities and take time to think.

But it would be as truly a mistake to minimize the movement as to magnify it. One American friend writes to me reporting things that have come under his notice, and adds the comment, "I think that most of us underestimate the sentiment for independence." He uses Lares as a citation of the past and present. The Revolution of Lares is entitled to historic mention. Nearly seventy years ago, on September 23, 1868, an American and a Venezuelan led a band of followers and precipitated a twelve-hour outbreak in that mountain municipality, to establish "the Republic of Puerto Rico." The forlorn hope was overcome with customary Spanish ferocity. Utterly futile as it was, the event has its significance in island annals. On that anniversary in 1937 there was a Nationalist meeting at Lares to celebrate the founding of the Republic of Puerto Rico as of 1868, "and more than three thousand are said to have turned out from that immediate locality."

Perhaps the authorities, through the insular police, know just where the truth lies. Perhaps the rosters of the Nationalist party tell the tale of the membership. Perhaps both know the place of secret arsenals, arms, ammunition and explosives, quasi-military organization, drills, uniforms, and threats to peace and law and order. For myself, I am reluctant to reason from particular events to general culminations. I have persistent faith in the worthy motives, seasoned wisdom, and sympathetic skill of real leaders, Puerto Rican and American, to resolve the complexities and finally to discover reasonable solutions for the problems near and distant.

Emerging suddenly in mid-April, 1937, as an act of timely significance, President Roosevelt's appointment of a new Commissioner of Education drew renewed attention to the language question. Ignoring the avowed candidates, the President named for the important place a Puerto Rican who was hardly known in the island, Dr. José Gallardo, American educated, and long a member of the faculty of Duke University.

The announcement was made with an accompanying letter to Dr. Gallardo in which President Roosevelt bespoke the expanded teaching of English as a matter of superior importance. The Gallardo appointment was a long step in that direction.

The President wrote in part as follows: "Nearly twenty years ago Congress extended American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. It is regrettable that to-day hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have little and often virtually no knowledge of the English language.

"It is an indispensable part of American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with complete facility in the English tongue. Only through the acquisition of this language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and principles. Only through familiarity with our language will Puerto Ricans be able to take full advantage of the economic opportunities which became available to them when they were made American citizens.

"Puerto Rico is a densely populated island. Many of its sons and daughters will desire to seek economic opportunity on the mainland or perhaps in other countries. They will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English. For it is obvious that they always will and should retain facility in the tongue of their inherited culture, Spanish.

"Clearly there is no desire or purpose to diminish the enjoyment or the usefulness of the rich Spanish cultural legacy of the people of Puerto Rico. What is necessary, however, is that the American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from their unique geographical situation and the unique historical circumstance which has brought to them the blessings of American citizenship by becoming bilingual. But bilingualism will be achieved only if the teaching of English throughout the insular educational system is entered into at once with vigor, purposefulness and devotion, and with the understanding that English is the official language of our country."

The appointment was highly approved, but the President's letter was attacked by the irreconcilable "left wing" of the Liberal party, and by the Nationalists, as an interference with island self-government, an effort to destroy the ancient culture and identity of the Puerto Rican people! The incident was a fortunate one, in that it contrasted common sense with manifest absurdity, and gave courage and support to an enlarging concept of educational actualities. Upon whatever basis judgment is formed, and whatever method of language instruction is in effect, the same urgency exists to teach the Puerto Ricans the English language for their own advantage.

Among all the favoring signs, the clear thinking of island leaders, and their increasing frankness of desire for island identity with the continental United States are of outstanding significance. It would provide a chapter carrying much satisfaction to American readers to assemble quotations from leaders in almost every field of island activities, political, cultural, industrial, financial, commercial and educational, evidencing a better understanding of the American people and the interrelationship of affairs. It has been slow to percolate, but the reality is beyond doubt. Leaders no longer hesitate to commit themselves to a future in the American commonwealth.

I have selected a significant single expression to offer, typical of many. At a great public meeting held in the Capitol Plaza at San Juan on July 4, 1936, to celebrate the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, the orator of the day was Chief Justice Emilio del Toro of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico. As an example of lofty ideals, clear reasoning, and high appreciation of the rights and obligations of his—and our own—fellow-citizens, his address seems worthy of the highest praise. That even one such presentation could be offered and received with applause on such an occasion would be a matter for American congratulation. That many another utterance of similar import finds increasing favor is a noteworthy fact. It is because of the respect in which this orator is held, and the distinction of the address itself, that it is briefly quoted here to show American readers what a Puerto Rican fellow-citizen can say on our behalf. I am glad to end this observation of island politics upon such a note.

Following a brief address by Governor Blanton Winship, Chief Justice del Toro spoke in part as follows:

"Puerto Rico always felt attracted to the United States of America. Salvador Brau, in an article published in 1882, in pointing out the factors which had contributed to Puerto Rican political idealism, says: 'The efforts of the Government to prohibit drastically all kinds of rights, acts, demonstrations, and even thoughts of a political nature in the island were in vain. Business men went to the United States and there they saw a prosperous, hard-working, and high-minded people expanding under the blessings of the most ample liberty, constituting with its very soul a model nation; and saturated with that atmosphere of liberty they returned to the island of Borinquen, praising and blessing its marvels.'

"We have not, as yet, the powers of a State, but we can count on all our resources for the development of our people under the same collective protection as that of any State of the Union. And not only with the security of that protection do we live. Beside us, within us, influencing our individual and social transformation, engaging in democratic practises and developing its activities, is the republican spirit which inspired the Declaration of Independence, which remained consecrated in the Constitution, and which has guided the nation by paths of efficiency, of justice and of greatness. Its laws, its jurisprudence, its institutions, its educational system, its agricultural, industrial and commercial organizations, its relations between capital and labor, its methods of earning, of spending, and of donating, its conception of social security, even its amusements and sports, its constructive genius, in a word, have been infiltrating for nearly forty years with more or less success, but always leaving some trace in our souls, so that we are to-day a community accustomed to a life different from our life at the close of the nineteenth century. And that transformation has only begun. It must in no wise be stopped but, on the contrary, it must be accelerated for the good of our people. . . .

"Through a mysterious connection of human events, that Declaration of Independence made in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, reverberated in Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898, and it came to Puerto Rico to revolutionize our souls, to make possible our longings for liberty, for happiness, for plenty, and for justice, within an ordered and progressive reality. . . . We can and we should, in truth and in spirit, celebrate the birthday of 'a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal,' as Lincoln said in his immortal Gettysburg address. We live under the sovereignty of that nation and our own salvation depends on the practise of the principles on which that nation is founded. Let our celebration consist principally in the consecration of our lives, 'with malice towards none, with charity for all,' to a full performance of our duties as citizens. Let us cease complaining. With a sense of tolerance for others and of inflexibility for ourselves, let us take a firm hold of the reins of the powers which we have, and let us show, in the exercise of said powers, our qualifications and virtues. . . .

"We can and we must celebrate this holiday. Our association with the United States of America stands for peace, for stability, for greatness. It stands for free, open roads to progress in all its phases and manifestations. It stands for dignity of citizenship, for genuine freedom, for material and spiritual independence, for equality of opportunity, and for a government of law. It constitutes the attainment of our aspirations by the path that Providence itself mapped out for us.

"Our responsibility before History is great. We are living at a crucial moment. It is necessary to act with clearsightedness and firmness. And putting my soul into my words I say to my people that it can never enjoy a greater measure of independence than it now enjoys and will continue to enjoy united to the people who declared its own independence on July 4, 1776."

Chapter XXVII

LOCAL PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

IN the light of the undoubted respect granted by the people of Puerto Rico to their men of cultural distinction, the early founding of the Atheneum, and the position it has always held as a cradle of the arts, it is strange that the impulse to give generously to the support of such uncommercial matters has so little manifested itself. It could be hardly more than a catalogue to name here the island-recognized authors in every field of literature, the artists, the statesmen who have depended upon the printed word as well as oratory to justify their leadership.

When one reads Puerto Rican books relating the eminence of those they regard as outstanding figures it becomes a surprise that so many have been vouchsafed the praise of their countrymen and the perpetuating of their names as masters of their various arts. Perhaps except for the language barrier the world might have discovered preeminent figures among them, names fit for the roll of immortals. The list that comes to notice when one reads about the poets, the musicians and other artists who touched the edge of genius seems incredibly long. But in any event the people have recognized with honor the artistic endeavors of their men of culture.

Wealth has not done so well by the island. A substantial number of men of large fortune have lived and passed on, leaving estates to their families with little apparent thought of public bequests. There is a library in San Juan built by Carnegie, but none anywhere by a Puerto Rican. The University derives its support from the student body, the insular treasury, and such Federal funds as are granted to finance activities of national value. But dying millionaires have not endowed professorial chairs or research projects, art galleries, museums or libraries. Fortunes are "plowed back into the business," with few deductions for the endowment of culture or the founding of benevolences.

Twenty years ago a rich member of the Spanish colony gave land valued at $20,000 upon which a sorely needed tuberculosis sanitarium was established at a time of gravest emergency. Pedro Arzuaga y Peraza, born in Vizcaya, is remembered and honored for that gift, but the example has not been sufficiently followed. In the University, honors are paid to exceptional students by gold medals which perpetuate at small cost the names of the donors, rather than by endowed scholarships or student grants to enable further study.

A rather impressive event in December, 1936, was the first independent exhibition of Puerto Rican art, presented in one of the new buildings on the campus, organized by the art department of the University, and attracting justifiable interest throughout the island. The work of nearly one hundred artists passed the jury, and the catalogue shows more than two hundred items, representing artists in every medium. Attendance was large, interest was high, and the press gave generous attention to the event. But few sales were made and no prizes awarded, no such resources being available.

It would be a noteworthy step to find some man of substance ready to become a patron of the arts and stimulate the undoubted latent talent. To make such an exhibition an annual event, in part an assembling of the year's art and in part a loan collection which perhaps would bring out to public view valuable paintings dating far back into the Spanish regime, would command attention in the continental North, and encourage aspiration in a field where no color line is drawn, and where quality finally wins recognition.

Street names in San Juan, in the old fortified city, in most instances preserve the ancient names, Tetuan, San Francisco, Luna, Sol, San Sebastian, San Justo, San José, and Cristo, for example. Allen Street, however, instead of Calle de la Fortaleza, now leads from La Fortaleza to Ponce de Leon Avenue, doing honor to the first American civil governor, Charles H. Allen, the ancient name gone but not obliterated. Old stone or cement tablets still appear at some of the street-corners, imbedded in the masonry as the old names and memories are imbedded in the history of the days of old.

Street naming in the capital has not needed to disturb many of the old names that are also landmarks, thanks to the rapid extension of the suburbs as favored residential districts, thus producing a crop of new streets available for christening. Patriots, scientists, authors, educators, physicians, and men of less distinction are thus immortalized. Schools bear the names of Puerto Rican poets and patriots, and in this manner of paying honor American statesmen have also shared.

In Santurce the beautiful ocean drive carries the name Calle Dr. Bailey K. Ashford to commemorate his service in the eradication of hookworm. An intersecting street bears the name of Bolívar, the liberator of the South American republics, and at another street-corner, also in Santurce, a new tablet announces the change of a thoroughfare's name to Calle José Martí, honoring the historic Cuban liberator.

Puerto Rico can hardly claim to be cosmopolitan, in the face of its supervening local pride. Puerto Rico is itself, which is quite enough. That curious admixture of uplifted pride and an inferiority complex manifests itself sometimes by undue boastfulness and sometimes by quite unnecessary apologetics. Perhaps this is one way by which the long list of great poets, great dramatists, great authors of thoughtful books of fiction and philosophy has been built up.

It is difficult to accept the judgment of Puerto Rican critics who proclaim more writers of masterpieces past and present, and more orators of surpassing eloquence than one small island could possibly produce. And yet it is refreshing to meet so widely among the people their worthy pride in the local poets, dramatists, novelists and philosophers, the orators and statesmen, the painters and composers. All the more justifiable is their pride when they note that almost without exception those elder men of light were leaders also, working for freedom from Spanish oppression, using their arts in this cause.

As a result, those who were editors found their journals suppressed. Those who were statesmen and orators, in frequent instance, became fugitives, expatriates, or prisoners in the fortress dungeons. To pay tribute of praise for their devotion and their talent is one thing. But lightly to ascribe genius even to that long list of outstanding men whom the island delights to honor makes too free with the transcendent word.

A book written in exuberant style with superlatives multiplied, sentimentality the keynote, and perorations on every page may be a matter of proud authorship and the praise of friends. Given the subject of one's own home town and the memory of old friends, cosmopolitan comparisons and standards become of minor consequence. I am impelled to justify this generalization by quotations. There is a work already credited herein for its reference value, entitled *El Libro de Puerto Rico*, a faithfully edited volume written by selected authors, appointed because of the authority with which they would speak on their assigned subjects. In that section of the volume which recounts the characteristics of the various cities the authors vie with each other to prove their local pride and civic loyalty. Doing this they certainly escape the charge of cosmopolitanism, while showing the very quality always recognized in the Puerto Rican, his love of home and his devotion to his beautiful island.

Dr. Juan Garcia Ducos, sometime senator from Aguadilla, physician and surgeon and member of various scientific and professional associations, contributes the article briefly descriptive of that city, with casual reference to the historical, agricultural, and industrial details, and he names also as distinguished local figures those whom he esteems as statesmen, poets, orators, composers, economists and editors. He closes the sketch with this apostrophe: "What makes Aguadilla unequaled by any other city is her glorious sunsets, her ever-blue sky, her sea and her murmuring palms, but more than all, her beautiful daughters!"

In similar fashion Judge Pedro Manzano Avino of the Municipal Court of San Juan, to whom was delegated the writing of the sketch of Guayama, contributes an article covering all the factual matters and the names of outstanding personalities in that city, after which he closes with this peroration: "Guayama, the unequaled spot of the southern lowlands, so busy and cheerful in her sun-kissed days and happy and romantic in her moonlight nights, endears herself to the writer now and always, no matter how far from her he may be!"

These characteristic fervid phrasings do not prove that the romantic note sounds through every Puerto Rican composition. But they do fairly indicate the sentimentality with which the island people regard their fair land and make their superlatives of devotion a commonplace.

Domestic architecture in every land is entitled to the presumption that it has developed from actual conditions of climate, occupation, available materials and cost, with an individual fitness of comfort or luxury on the scale of those who dwell there. Architectural design, charm and beauty have so developed with certain similarities and certain differences in Mexico and Central America and the islands of the Caribbean that were Spanish. Except in the suburbs, Puerto Rican homes use the streets and the street doors for entrance only, saving their beauty of garden, *patio,* veranda and private life for the other outlook, away from public observation, this because of the charm of outdoor life in such a climate.

This was true until the Americans began to come, since which time new homes have been largely subject to architectural modifications drawn from American taste. The building boom in the larger cities shows almost as many evidences of bungalow or household magazine influence in the architecture as California, Arizona and Florida show of the Spanish influence. It gives one a pause, however, to see a handsome new home of Swiss chalet design in a choice residential district, eaves overhanging for a full yard or more to furnish welcome shade to the circuit of second-story bedrooms, and the whole roof anchored into the deep earth all around by guy-wires and turnbuckles to resist the some-day hurricane.

Alike for private residences and for apartment buildings, reenforced concrete is coming into increased use because of its resistant strength against the hurricane and earthquake hazard. Brick, stone, cement, tile, plaster and stucco as building materials, and even wood, hold over in favor from the days of Spain. But wood suffers under the attack of termites and their kin, as do floor coverings and furniture. There is no immunity. Nevertheless, new construction such as provides modernistic or even futuristic apartment houses by the score, turning to concrete, iron, tile and porcelain, aims to repel such invaders.

The size of a house or an apartment is commonly expressed only in terms of the number of bedchambers. The assumption is that of course a home will have kitchen, dining-room and living-room space commensurate with the size of the family, which latter detail governs the number of bedrooms. No other information is necessary. A ten-room house means ten bedrooms. Homes are built with an eye to large families, large rooms, and, indeed, large furniture. Furniture in Puerto Rico is quite often too tall for comfort. Furniture designs seem to be drawn rather from Spanish influence than from Grand Rapids.

Motion-picture theaters are found even in the smaller cities. Neither news films nor "features" are shown quite as promptly as improved distribution provides them in the United States, but most of the same features come around, and the traveler may see in Puerto Rico some favorite picture all but forgotten.

Films carry the full dialogue in English, but Spanish captions also accompany the picture, with about the same quantity of running conversation as used to be familiar in the days of the silent "movies." Manifestly, captions thus brief cannot convey much of the give-and-take interchange. Nevertheless, audiences are demonstrative. The patrons are not altogether responsive to the same situations that appeal to continental audiences. There is more laughter than sentiment in the love passages, less satisfaction in the triumph of virtue and downfall of vice, more applause for poor heroes than for rich ones, and little reverence for the very sentimentality which seems so real to them in their own lives. Villainous oppressors are hissed in melodramatic fashion, but the villainous poor seem to get off lightly.

We happened upon but one picture which aroused discussion. "Ramona" was variously received. Of course, those who know the story of our dealings with the American Indian regret the blunderings and worse, but they also know that for many a year there has been an intelligent effort to repair and make amends. "Ramona" is a theatricalized story of ancient wrongs of which no American can be proud. But in Puerto Rico the picture was received as a factual narrative of the American attitude—even in the very present—toward those unfortunates who fall under American authority. In Puerto Rico the picture had its local political connotations.

We saw it once at a leading theater in Mayagüez, and months later again at an outlying ten-cent picture house in Santurce on a Sunday afternoon. The audience on this latter occasion clapped with equal enthusiasm at the onset of the villainous raiders and of the noble heroes. They equally "guyed" the love scenes and were untouched by the most touching episodes, apparently indifferent to sentiment, love, sorrow, or religion. Even so they were not as vitriolic in their reception of the significant parts of the play as was the higher-class audience at Mayagüez.

- *Above:* The *jibaro* is a skilled laborer in his own line of work. He knows close cultivation —and he is not lazy, as lightly charged.

  Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Below:* Tobacco must be stripped by *jibaro* hand labor and hung up in the great curing-barns.

  Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Above:* Diversified garden crops, under the guidance of agricultural experts and PRRA.
Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Below:* Reading-room of Workers' Camp at Villalba.
Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

Santurce laughed even at the worst of the "Terrytunes." One theater placard of coming events advertised as a special double attraction in a single evening, "*Dos* Popeyes *y un otro* short"—two Popeyes and another short! This seemed to temper the political forebodings of some of our friends who had regretted that the "Ramona" film was ever brought to the island.

Much of the Puerto Rican group conversation seems clamorous to the observer who does not understand Spanish, overemphasized by voice and by gesticulation which appears to be a standardized, essential part of the language as clearly understood as the words themselves. Inasmuch as the sidewalk meetings of friends permit welcome halts for visiting, the narrow streets and walks are quite commonly congested by cheerful groups, talking in headlines and quite oblivious to the intended purpose of the thoroughfare.

Let this not be taken to include the imputation of vociferous talk in the homes and offices of people of culture and manners. They are as gently-spoken as are those of culture anywhere else, with the most complete graciousness of manners and spirit, hospitality and consideration, even though their natural animation makes conversation vivid. It is in the mass that the casual observer finds his excess of emphasis as he listens to an unfamiliar language.

Throughout the island, even in the most unlikely places as judged by any external evidences of prosperity, one hears radio broadcasting turned loose at full strength whatever be the hour. Just as crowd-conversations are clamorous, and automobile horns congenitally raucous, so broadcasting in Puerto Rico seems to be pitched at its most discordant note, with every aid to transmission planned for noise and emphasis. Musical people that the Puerto Ricans are, one may well wish that they should be at their gentle music with its characteristic minors, to harmonize with the soft airs and moonlit skies, rather than so dependent upon broadcast entertainment of doubtful merit, or even the long, loud and frequent news-broadcasting.

The most interesting experiment in cooperation that one may find in many a day of journeyings takes form in Mayagüez. It is of small dimensions, but it possesses certain elemental qualities of excellence which make it a distinguished example of what can be done without fuss and feathers if some one has a good idea and finds his neighbors responsive. The Mayagüez City Hall, the steps of which have been the rostrum for many an impassioned political address, looks out upon the Plaza and its surrounding streets and stores, the center of the city's business. These frontages and the adjoining streets are as lively with retail trade as one would expect in any prosperous city of 45,000 inhabitants.

At midday local custom closes the stores for an hour, but for the rest of the time they keep merchants' hours. All but the drugstores. The drugstores have found a way of their own to shorten their hours at the end of the day, and at the same time serve those who need their ministrations. The corner store on the first floor of the City Hall bears the perplexing sign, "Mayagüez Cooperative Pharmacy." The puzzled visitor sees other modern drugstores with the same varied merchandise that druggists everywhere offer to their customers, "from pins to plows," and wonders if the municipality has entered such a business. It isn't exactly that, but Mayagüez can explain.

Some five years ago a group of druggists came to the conclusion that one reliable pharmacy could take care of the evening trade in the filling of prescriptions. Competition was requiring them all to keep open until late hours, and for only one of them to close, or only one to remain open, would be quite out of order. It was resolved to undertake the maintenance of one cooperative pharmacy in which they should all share, permitting their own enterprises to close at seven o'clock.

It was realized that the undertaking must be faithfully adhered to by all the pharmacists, or the experiment would be a failure. To avert this inevitable result if some independent regarding himself as a rugged individualist should refuse to cooperate, they were able to induce the passage of a municipal ordinance requiring all private pharmacists to close at seven P.M. except on Saturdays and Sundays. And with this much official action the participants rented the corner store in the City Hall and put up the sign.

The enterprise in one sense required no investment, for each member pharmacist contributed from his own stock an agreed share of the merchandise, so that the store opened with a full stock of everything required. Seventeen pharmacies participate. Two pharmacists are in attendance from seven to eleven every evening, after which one remains on duty subject to call by a night-bell. The pharmacists who operate the store rotate from the seventeen member-pharmacies, each taking his turn of duty. The last annual report, following the end of the fourth year, shows a total profit of $3,000.

It is to be realized, of course, that sales are made at the cooperative pharmacy only between seven and eleven P.M., and that it is not open on Saturday and Sunday evenings, when custom keeps the seventeen sponsors open for the week-end trade. The merchandise carried is chiefly what would be recognized as a pharmacist's supplies for the filling of prescriptions and for package medicinal and kindred goods. Little by little, however, the scope of the stock carried has been enlarged until now a variety of drugstore standard merchandise is carried.

In one or two instances where members of the cooperative have sold their stores and closed out their business, they have tried to retain their participating membership. The project is about to seek incorporation, and the new rules plan to abolish the possibility of retiring merchants holding membership, so that only actual operating pharmacies can participate. The simplicity of the enterprise as a practical accommodation to customers, and a process of obtaining an early-closing privilege for the merchants themselves, makes it interesting beyond its dimensions. Also, it is a practical answer, by one example, at least, to prove that Puerto Rican business men can devise a plan and cooperate in executing it, as logically and as faithfully as any one else.

"The worst thing about the Puerto Ricans," said an island friend in the American colony, "is that they are all sleeping under mosquito nets." It is true that we were cherishing the same distaste for that household device which this comment implied, but it had not seemed such a serious matter as to call for sweeping judgment. "I mean that metaphorically as well as literally," my friend continued, after he allowed a moment for it to sink in.

We knew what he meant as to mosquito nets, but it was he who suggested the symbolism. Prosperous Puerto Ricans build beautiful homes with broad verandas, ample shade, spacious drawing-rooms and bedchambers, high ceilings, tiled floors, comfortable furniture, and picturesque *patios*. But few of them have any screens over the windows. The shady verandas where they might sit in comfort are wide open to the incursions of the most murderous mosquitoes, and lizards find almost equally free access to every part of the house.

After the family or a dinner-party has settled itself at the dining-table for an appetizing meal the host or the house-boy may get the vaporizer and squirt a saturating cloud around the legs of every guest, under the table and under the chairs, so that dinner may be eaten in peace, however sheer the hosiery and the lingerie. Again the same ceremonial after dinner, in the drawing-room or on the veranda upon which the brightest of stars are shining with the fragrance of the garden flowers on the air.

When it comes to retiring time, every bed has over it a voluminous mosquito-net hung from the ceiling or stretched over a sort of umbrella-top frame, with its skirts so full and long that the bed may be completely enclosed therein. Ready for the plunge, he who is about to retire hoists the edge of the canopy which drapes to the floor, hurries it over his head, and draws himself into the cage. From that point of vantage he tucks the skirts of the canopy around and under the mattress from head to foot, on both sides, and there he is immured till morning. It is a tough ordeal for him when he finds that he has inadvertently imprisoned one or more mosquitoes with him under the barricade, and he must let his conscience be his guide whether to endure the one, or open the subject and the canopy to revise the sleeping arrangements for the night.

We had asked Puerto Rican friends and American friends why so many mosquito nets and so few screens. The invariable reply was that screens prevent the free circulation of the air, and people want fresh air. This left us puzzled, because it seemed to be inconsistent with the bed-canopies which keep out still more fresh air, as if one were sleeping in his own pocket. We were never able to come to a common understanding with our resident friends, but we noticed that such few houses as had door-screens, window-screens and screened verandas regarded them with the utmost satisfaction, and were envied by the neighbors as luxuriously modern.

In this friend's conversation—he was a window-screen addict—I accepted the symbolism. The fault he found was that Puerto Ricans accept without correcting the defects in the most charming homes, with no adequate sense of antipathy driving them to an attack and destruction of pests or vermin, choosing rather to use palliatives or to erect personal barriers for their individual comfort. "And yet," as he had said once before, "visitors should learn that annoyances are not necessarily dangerous, that lizards are not crocodiles, not pests, not vermin, and when they're put into the squirrel category they become much less forbidding."

It was not intended to be entirely whimsical when this long-time resident American told me that one's reaction to lizards can be used as an indication as to whether he is becoming mentally and physically acclimated or not. Lizards are everywhere except in the business streets of the larger towns and cities. They are as harmless as pigeons, but, nevertheless, to the unaccustomed stranger it becomes more or less startling to have them as a commonplace in the flower gardens, on the sidewalks, among the dry leaves or palm fronds, in the footpath, bright-eyed, observant, quick-moving little creatures, from six inches to sixteen inches in length, noiseless except as they rustle the foliage.

Every resident knows that the lizards earn their board and keep by eating mosquitoes and flies, and by attacking pests which assail the flower gardens. This is why no resident is in any manner disturbed at finding one on the cushion of his veranda chair or in any of the several rooms of the house. It is only the stranger who insists upon driving away what in many instances is all but a welcome guest.

"You see," explained my friend, "all you have to do is to think of lizards in terms of squirrels or chipmunks and it won't disturb you to have one come around and be neighborly. In fact, they do a great deal more service to us than squirrels render to you in your northern homes. They are as valuable as garter-snakes are in northern gardens, and you know them to be quite harmless, in spite of the fact that they give us a start when we are visiting friends up there."

I accepted the facts, and the theories sounded logical. I tried to use them in expostulation with my wife, but I did not seem to get far with the argument. She has never learned to care for lizards. One incident, however, gentled the situation a little for her. At our gateway from the yard to the sidewalk she drew back one morning when she was about to step down to the flagstone level, observing a lively little lizard there on the exact spot where she was just going to place her foot. Drawing back, she exclaimed, "I was afraid I would step on him!"

A little girl just passing heard her remark, an immaculate child of five with a nurse bringing her from the beach. Reassuringly she looked up at the stranger and said, "You needn't be afraid! He will get out of the way before your foot gets down."

The translation of lizard into squirrel was a paradox, but it has its value when one undertakes to explain many another paradox in the island. It is necessary to learn that things may be ever so different from the customary ones of the North, without necessarily being either noxious or odious. These are the sort of things which the speeding tourists never sense. Mostly they want living conditions to be such as they like at home, and they seek the nearest to this that they can find in the hospitable American colony, where bridge and afternoon tea are commonplaces, and news from up North is the real news.

If the tourist visitor were to seek truly Puerto Rican lodging and associations, in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen at best he would be queer, and at worst would have "gone native" and "let down the American colony and his own country." Even Puerto Ricans would fail to fathom and appreciate the oddities of his motivation.

Chapter XXVIII

“WHERE EVERY PROSPECT PLEASES—!”

WE have it on eminent authority that “There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, and every single one of them is right,” so I refrain from determining the right and wrong of exotic standards unfamiliar to the continental North, however they may disturb me. Even so, I reserve the right to differ—and, indeed, to reprehend—because of certain Puritan instincts not easy to dislodge. Standards of morals vary with climate, race and tradition and they seem to mix with standards of thought which are equally exotic. It is my opinion that no one could possibly estimate the time yet to elapse before our North American standards will be even approximately understood by Puerto Ricans, far less assumed and adopted by them. The Spanish concept which they inherit and adapt is alien to our own, and our forty years have made little change.

It is a subject matter which has to be handled gingerly in attempting inquiry, and, of course, in attempting to write of it without injustice. I am quite sure that there must be exceptions in great number to any generalization. But just as we know more or less accurately the general acceptance and applicability of standards in the North, however many the exceptions in practise, so it is possible to know the same things, though less accurately, in such an island as Puerto Rico.

At home we have men of recognized position, whose worthier qualities of distinction do not blind us to their indifference to the moral code. But we do not have prototypes of such as one figure of wealth, well known in the island for his boastful pride that he is the father of fifty sons and that he gives each of them $5,000 in cash to start him off in business. I don't know what part of this is truth and what braggadocio, but it seems to carry no shock to those who quote him without the faintest implication of criticism.

More humble is another episode which illustrates the point of view. I know of a household of North Americans, a man and his wife who went to Puerto Rico many years ago and prospered on the plantation they developed. The husband died, and the elderly Presbyterian wife who survived him continued to manage the plantation successfully and has lived there for many years. She knows her laborers, and much of the way they think about things, but now and then she gets a surprise. One of her outstanding men merited promotion. She raised his wages and made him a foreman, in which task he justified his selection. Almost immediately, however, he asked for another raise of salary, although he had been grateful for the first, and was still devoted.

Under her perplexed questioning he explained to her that his gang of laborers thought that he was not living up to his social obligations, and doubted that he had received an increase of pay with his first promotion. Before the change he was happily married, and living in a *jibaro's* hut with his wife and children. Upon promotion, he had moved into a somewhat better house, and all of his additional wage was required for the new establishment. But besides his industrial advance and his improved living conditions, his friends and fellow-workmen felt that he should maintain a mistress, because of the natural manifestations that society expects of men as they prosper, and he had no spare money with which to meet that obligation. Therefore, he would like another increase, so as to live in the style now required of him. The Presbyterian lady listened patiently, but for reasons he could not understand she failed to see the logic of the argument, and declined to finance his additional requirements even to save his face.

The mental attitude of women in general, either in Puerto Rico or in the continental United States, cannot be deduced from single situations, and I am as slow to attempt sweeping deductions as I would have the reader be. Nevertheless, I cannot controvert the statements of long-time residents, both men and women, endeavoring to tell my wife or myself the actualities as they believe them to be. The social habit in the realm of morals is a product of racial tendencies and teaching in a tropical country through the centuries.

Until the American occupation in 1898, the church was under the authority of the hierarchy in Spain. After the transfer of island dominion to the United States, the church also was transferred from Spanish to American direction, and since then it has been in that sense an American institution. The church in Puerto Rico is by no means as potent in the guidance or control of its people as it is in some others of those we know as the Spanish-American countries. The sharpest critics or anticlerics would hardly contend that the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico has impoverished the people by taking their money from them, for the priestly aggrandizement or to send as tribute to Spain or Rome. The island is poor, and the church, in a worldly sense, is poor. The most violent anti-churchman would have to find things other than any oppression of the people as a subject for scolding. Puerto Rico, in the Catholic organization, is regarded as a mission field requiring support from without.

Perhaps the poverty and illiteracy, the change from the Spanish to the American regime, the partial breaking down of the chaperonage system, may all have been factors in the atmospheric changes of the last forty years. Certain it is that the Catholic priesthood and schools have nothing like the power of authority and discipline over morals that they once assumed as a part of their responsibility. Statistics may show no change in percentages of parish membership, but in practise it is well known that the duty of confessional and other churchly practises are more lightly regarded, regarded hardly at all by men. The church has lost much of its hold on them.

Whether there ever was a time when the church imposed purity of life and the practise of it upon its men, or merely the penances for violation, I have no knowledge. I can only offer it as a fact, so widely and constantly justified as to compel its acceptance, that the moral standards of personal life seems not to be required of them by any one. I have sensitive friends in Puerto Rico—among Puerto Ricans, I mean, whose friendship I value—who will chide me for entering upon this subject. Many of them I believe to be as rigorous in their faithfulness and their devotion to their homes as could be asked of any one, ideal husbands and fathers. But also I am convinced that they cannot and do not attempt to expect of men in general any such high standard of life.

For other men to maintain mistresses does not seem to carry a shock to them, or to discourage high political preferment, or to make the man less an exemplar to be followed as a hero and patriot. In the most casual way, and without any thought on the part of the common sources of information that it reveals weakness or fault, the observer of things in general—politics, education, law, medicine, business, industry and other activities—learns currently, without concealment, of liaisons and unacknowledged families as a commonplace. Furthermore, there is a distinct tendency on the part of those who realize that these things disturb the observer, to contend that it is a difference only of frankness as against concealment. They explain more or less patronizingly that the men of the United States do exactly as do these Puerto Rican Americans, except that they are clandestine and unfrank—which, of course, then becomes the major offense.

Conceivably the mental attitudes of man and woman toward mutual obligations have been so long in the crystallizing that it is only a counsel of perfection to find standards differing. Certainly no one could contend that the blame for the position in which womankind seems to find itself must all be ascribed to man. Obviously in this matter of personal morals, if it is to be taken as a moral question, or in the matter of economics if it belongs in that category, if there be things about it that women don't like, it is time for women to do something about it other than passive acceptance of an eternal condition.

Disquieting mental attitudes thrust themselves upon one as governing influences in most surprising fashion. We know of a friend, a Puerto Rican woman of perceptions and position, to whom the knowledge of her faithless husband's life and his paramour was no secret. Neither was it a secret to any one else, and her tolerance of the situation was likewise known to all. She was entirely frank in her statement of her own attitude. She was not vulnerable in her own conduct, so that there was no legalistic attack possible for him to make on her. Her high resolve was that she "would not release him and let the other woman have the satisfaction of getting him!"

There seemed to be no repugnant shock to her in the fact that she continued to make his home, to tolerate him as her husband, and take triumphant satisfaction in the fact that she was feeding her own misery through a false concept of personal pride. Her American women friends could not understand her tolerance of the situation and her proud resolve to endure by such logic. Her Puerto Rican women friends understood, and approved!

While we were making headquarters at Mayagüez an episode occurred which gives a hint of the difficulty involved in pursuing an apparently simple subject onward to the verities. The Mayagüez city hall occupies a one-block frontage, facing the Cathedral at the opposite end of the plaza, which is bounded on the other two sides by two business streets. The next building back of the city hall, and, therefore, facing a principal thoroughfare, is the fire department. Next back of that is a conspicuous and favorite place of refreshment, heavily patronized by the convivial; and next, occupying the corner frontage at the first street intersection, is the Yagüez theater, long an ornate opera house of its day and its type, now the leading motion-picture house.

Reaching the theater almost exactly at the moment of eight o'clock one evening we found that the bill had been changed to something we had already seen, and without halting we drove past the bar next door to find another house and be in time for the opening. In the bar at that same eight o'clock, a sudden altercation ended in the shooting and instant death of a Mayagüez man—a member of the fire department, I believe, by a man from San Juan.

Not learning of the affair till the next morning, I was sufficiently interested by our own narrow missing of the excitement that I undertook to make inquiries as to the circumstances. In my visitings with friends and acquaintances I sought to discover what pattern of crime this might have been, in order to follow the procedure and the outcome. I soon found the information coming variously to hand in the local newspapers and in personal narratives so much more interesting than the actualities could possibly be, that I let it remain with me as a sample rather than as a crime.

One friend who was well acquainted with all the circumstances and the personalities involved explained to me in detail that a drinking bout had passed the point of genial celebration, and had developed a quarrel over nothing. Angry words passed between the two men, ugly insults were exchanged, and an impulsive shooting affray in which both participated, one of them being "too late on the draw." It was just a brawl between boon companions, and nothing more.

Another Puerto Rican friend, with equally ready facilities for obtaining the exact truth, related that the stranger from San Juan was no stranger, but an offended husband, the sanctity of whose home had been invaded by the Mayagüez man, who had been warned that he would be shot at sight for his somewhat habitual encroachments of similar sort, this last one of special culpability; that the man who did the shooting was the injured husband; that the whole thing was what the French call a *crime passionnel;* and that the late lamented got what was coming to him.

A third Puerto Rican friend, of similar acquaintance and inside information at command, recounted to me that it was an extremely significant crime, actuated solely by political motives, an example of the worst in partizan violence. By this variation the man who had been killed was of one political party, at outs with leaders of another party, and the visiting gunman from San Juan had been sent on a killer's errand, quite impersonally, to give the quietus to a trouble-maker.

Thus I had before me three completely divergent explanations of the murder, one that it was simply the result of a drunken quarrel between friends, with no background; another that it was a crime of passion developing from domestic difficulties; and yet another that it was a political crime paid for and procured at the hand of one who already had several such items to his discredit. There was no way to reconcile one of these explanations with another, no way for me to choose between the authenticity of one friend's information and another's, and so I let my own interest drop. It seemed to me a better story as it was than a commonplace trial and punishment through the local courts could possibly be. But it becomes part of the pattern of Puerto Rican affairs, and an example of the difficulty of obtaining final verification of facts in more important matters.

As I was walking up Fifth Avenue on a pleasant afternoon three days after a recent return from months in Puerto Rico, I halted at a fascinating window display which enticed me to enter the shop. Still halting at the window to pursue the matter of selection, I suddenly felt a strangeness in surrounding conditions, and caught myself shocked and smiling at the same time over a novel sensation. No beggars were assailing me on either hand, mumbling a plea for alms or displaying an unclean deformity to arouse my pity!

I might be saying this of State Street, or of Washington or Market or Chestnut Street, of Woodward Avenue or of a hundred streets in a hundred cities where people may walk and loiter and "window-shop" without such molestation. In these cities of our continental United States there are no blind or crippled or diseased on fixed station in the post-office corridors, begging from the line-up at the stamp windows, or blocking the doorways or the steps as one attempts to enter. We remember with a sense of shame how beggars multiplied in our streets during the wretchedest period of our "depression," a manifestation which had its part in finding a better method of remedies and relief. But Puerto Rican begging is not a transient surrender to dire necessity at a time of exceptional economic disaster. On a varying scale it has always been there and it never ends.

So far as I could discover, whether from the needy or the prosperous, there is no existing sense of shame and humiliation in the fact of beggary. Travelers in Europe and in the Levant have long differentiated between those countries where beggary is a profession and those countries from which it is absent. Here we have a populous island under the American flag and the American system of government, with beggary apparently accepted by the entire population as a natural, inevitable fact. Beggars stand in the entrance of restaurants and follow the patrons in and out to beg for coppers, without any apparent thought on the part of the restaurant owners that the intruders should not be there. They are a nuisance within the shopping-window entrances to the stores. They make the narrow streets and narrower sidewalks more congested by their fixed posts and their persistence.

Some of my Puerto Rican friends heard my questionings with more or less surprise. They told me of the storm of popular disapproval upon those infrequent occasions when some police effort had been made to bar certain shopping streets to the professional beggars. The impassioned letters of "Vox Populi" and "Old Subscriber," or their Puerto Rican prototypes, filled the columns of the newspapers with harsh comment on the unsympathetic spirit which undertook to make things more difficult for the needy.

Of all the infested parts of San Juan, the worst are the tourist shopping streets, the public buildings around the waterfront, and in general what might be called the show-window of the island, where the best impression should be in the making. San Juan wants the tourists to come in increasing numbers, and to buy liberally. But the tourists have that gauntlet to run from the moment they disembark, and that story to tell when they return home!

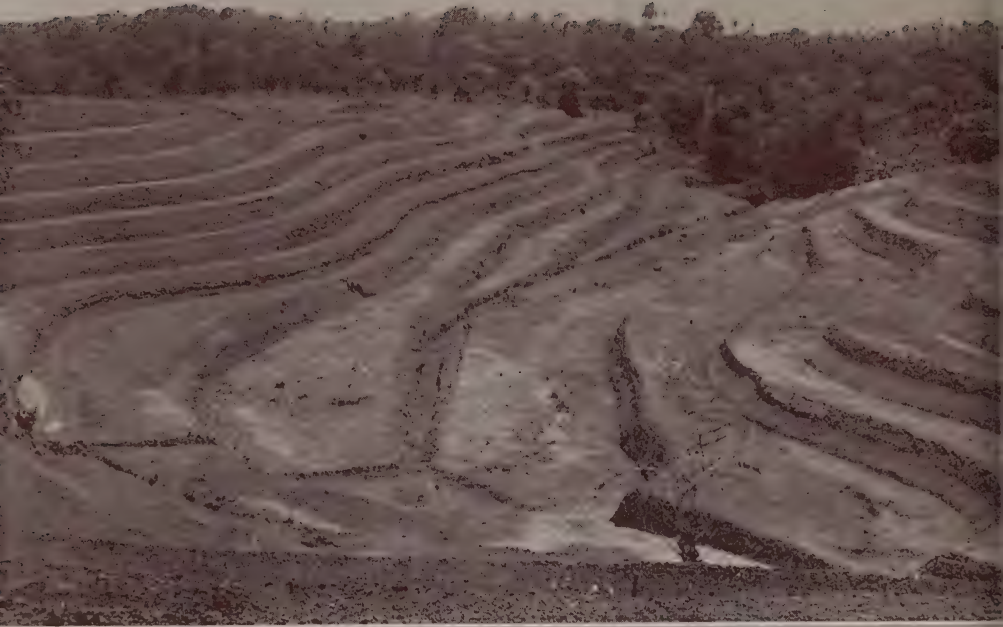
One result of such circumstances is an array of stories, unreasonable to the point of absurdity, but locally regarded as literal and reasonable anecdotage. Beggars with fixed routes establish themselves in towns and cities, making their rounds at regular intervals as faithfully as a pedler might do, to obtain the gifts of money, food or other supplies from regular sources. Households even know when to expect them, and have their dole in readiness so as to require from the itinerant no waste of his time! Such beggars are regarded as all but old family retainers, although neither their place of abode nor their identity may be known.

A favorite story relates that one faithful beggar upbraided the neglectful and indifferent household at whose door he halted, with a threat that he would cease to call on this patron unless there was more promptness, regularity, and responsiveness manifested hereafter! The abashed householder promised to mend his ways and do better in the future.

When the subject is raised for discussion, the explanation usually makes the church and "charity" an excuse for the growth of such an institution. The inquirer is reminded that the needy are always with us, that charity is kind, that alms-

- *Above:* Typical Vocational Educational School Unit as built by PRRA with Federal funds.
Photo, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration

- *Below:* Mountainside fields and homes of the interior valleys characterize the farming regions as soon as the coastal sugar-cane plantations are out of sight.
Photo, Insular Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce



- *Above:* Bench terraces constructed by the Soil Conservation Service and Puerto Rico Experiment Station of the U. S. Department of Agriculture not only check soil erosion but increase the area of agricultural land.
  Photo, Puerto Rico Experiment Station, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
- *Below:* San Juan's attractive waterfront.

giving brings blessings alike to those who give and those who receive, that poverty is the fixed lot in life for a multitude who have no escape, and that mendicancy should not cease if the habits of mercy and charity are to be preserved. Defenders of the system even confuse professional beggary with the sacrificial service rendered by certain of the mendicant holy orders vowed to poverty, and with the teachings they find in holy scripture. That mental concept which accepts beggary as an established industry not to be reprehended has to be recognized as an element in the situation.

Lest some one may think that this acrid report comes from an unsympathetic narrator, I affirm the contrary. But our Puerto Rican fellow-citizens certainly have something to learn, something which will make directly for the prosperity of their island. Their beggars are bad advertising. They know that, but they don't do anything about it.

It remains as a fact which seriously disquieted them that Mrs. Roosevelt sought out the worst of the island slums, picked a group of the wretchedest of beggar children to surround her, and posed to be photographed with them on the brink of the most sordid mud-puddle. That photograph, widely published in the United States, aroused Puerto Rican resentment. But it was not so much resentment that the conditions exist, as that the President's wife called attention to them when she might have taken heed of some lovely park or ancient fortress. One Puerto Rican gentleman said to me, however, "I was ashamed for my people and my city when I saw that photograph. I had not realized the situation, and I have done what I could, and shall keep on doing what I can, gradually to remedy those matters."

At a luncheon meeting of the Lions Club where I was a guest, I found encouragement in a serious report by an energetic committee, actuated by a movement to build institutions to which persistent beggars can be committed. Merely to punish beggars is no solution of such a widespread island problem.

There must be some place where they can be sheltered if they are to be forbidden the public streets. The Lions Club, as one of the active sponsors of the movement, was to have an appointed member of the municipal commission for studying the subject. The only negative voiced was based on the fear that the number of beggars is so tremendous that public funds could not be found sufficient to withdraw them from the streets, and house and feed them institutionally. In other words, that the island can't afford to forbid beggary at the cost of providing for the beggars out of public funds, but can afford to support them at random, unsystematically and indiscriminately, by private benevolent impulse!

The traveler in Puerto Rico observes one detail which needs systematic attention almost as greatly as does the matter of beggary. Just as the beggars are themselves suffering from an island attitude that calls for reform, so also are the dumb creatures which are entitled to merciful care or merciful destruction. I am not willing to believe that there is conscious cruelty to animals, but assuredly the results of habit, indifference and neglect are as painful as if they were intentional. The obligation to maintain an adequate humane society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, or to end the neglect and suffering they endure, seems to have been all but unrealized.

Apparently the myriad of homeless dogs and cats subsisting on what they can provide as their own scavengers, hungry, filthy, and reeking with vermin or disease, confronting one in almost every street, fails to register upon the consciousness of the people as an offense to the eye and a threat to health and decency. This does not mean the well-fed household pets, but the wretched creatures that prowl by day and night in hapless misery, calling only for systematic extermination.

Harking back to 1898, it is a vivid memory that the overtaxed and underfed horse-flesh of the island needed better stock for replenishment, more food, less work, and better care. So it was with milk cattle and with oxen, the draft animals of the island. Since these dumb creatures earn their living there is a measure of consideration given by the owners who wish to protect the inherent property values at least—though not too much even of this.

But it is the habit of kindness to animals that needs to be born and nurtured. Horses need better breeding, children need to learn that songbirds are not fair game for air-rifles, men need the consciousness that poultry is better raised for eggs and for the table than for cock-fighting, even though the insular legalizing of that "sport" meets wide approval.

Perhaps the plea may be entered that island impulse has been too busy in the ameliorating of the needs of mankind to stop for the organizing of humane societies in the service of the animals. Even so, a systematic effort in the direction of mercy to the beasts would probably save far more than its cost, and register happily upon the tourist, whose arrival is so earnestly sought as a contribution to island prosperity.

Chapter XXIX

BOTH SIDES OF THE SHIELD

WITH such clarity as I command I have endeavored to make this entire volume a character study of Puerto Ricans as I have seen and known them, doing this through outcroppings on almost every page rather than by attempting it in a single oracular chapter. To have done otherwise would have been to arrogate too many perceptions to myself, and then to do violence to them by recurring inconsistencies. There are, however, some conclusions of interpretation.

One generalization is that despite four centuries of development in more or less geographical isolation under the Spanish regime, despite forty years of intimate relationship with the continental American regime as a political successor, despite these factors and whatever others the reader may wish to index, the Puerto Rican is still living in racial and political immaturity. This expresses itself in countless ways, and it accounts for whatever misunderstandings of motive and hope have to be confronted and puzzled out, whether by North American continentals alone, or by insular Americans, or by their common aim for right relationship and happiness.

Individuals of leadership capacity, and of desire to make things better, however divergent as to speed and method, can usually find themselves intimately speaking together with common impulses. They bring sympathetic understanding, lofty motives and patience into their consideration of things as they are. At least they do this in a large measure, and the remainders can be put aside and left to the solution of time. Using a telephone analogy, perhaps the connection is an imperfect one, with interference and poor articulation to be overcome, but they are on the same wire, and what does go through is partial communication.

Another generalization is that, different as we may be in certain characteristics, continentals and insulars, we still possess large factors of identity, which should enable us to be patient and to understand each other better if the desire to do so is resolute. One hardly finds an action or reaction in Puerto Rico, individual or mass, however subject to criticism, without an available parallel citation right from home. Faults of government, executive, legislative, or judicial; faults of campaign violence and political knavery; faults of industrial oppression or instances of outbreak and violence in resentment, confront instances of loyalty, bravery and kindness, to contradict any suggestion that the ruling spirit is harsh in either land. Sacrifice, devotion and tireless industry have their parallels on either hand. It is just as accurate and more constructive to discover that "we are all pretty much of a muchness," as the awkward adage has it, as to overemphasize differences of habit and life.

Here also is a momentary generalization which conceals a compliment in its fundamentals although it may sound like depreciation. This Puerto Rican is as sensitive as a child to misjudgment, actual or imagined. He does not want to have the things the stranger does not like indicated to him in response to his question, "How do you like Puerto Rico?" The question is more rhetorical than inquisitive. He really wants nothing noticed except those things that permit compliments. But oddly enough, while the Puerto Rican reserves the conversational right to expect only complimentary judgment upon things Puerto Rican, he maintains the ready habit of telling what he does not like about things American.

In my searchings I asked questions about everything, and welcomed every answer as a true kindness entitled to full respect and presumptive credence. In every conversation I sought for others to talk informatively and fill me with facts and understandings in their proper relation. Over and over I enjoyed such an experience as this: I sat with a young Puerto Rican of brilliant education, unqualified ability, and devotion to the island and the people. He told me things of the utmost interest and value about Puerto Rico, and how Puerto Ricans think and react. He had a capacity to translate Puerto Rico into my consciousness in analytical, academic terms that made the visits illuminating, and of genuine utility in this work, wherein I have digested much of his understandings. But interpolated with what he was telling me about Puerto Rico and its heart and soul and manner of thought, he would interrupt himself to tell me with particularity how continental North America acts, thinks, and reacts in all circumstances.

But North Americans were my people, with hundreds of years of Anglo-Saxons in England behind my background, nearly as many centuries in New England and the Middle West, to establish them and their attitudes which I inherited understandingly, as he and his had been in Spain and Puerto Rico. I knew the high percentage of error he was making when he told me all about how Americans think and act under varying circumstances, with the same dogmatic avowal of accuracy that he claimed and possessed on behalf of the Puerto Ricans.

In rueful protest more than once I interrupted him with frankness: "I give full respect and confidence to the accuracy of what you assume to know about Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans. Why will you not realize that I know better than you do about the Americans of New England and the Mississippi Valley and our Mountain and Pacific West; that I know how haplessly you misinterpret the governing spirit, the motivation, the public opinion and reaction of those Americans in the mass; and that you have got them wrong?" But it did no good, and he will have the eternal advantage over me in his own mind that he not only knows all about Puerto Rico, but all about the United States too, although he has had little opportunity to learn the latter.

Humility of judgment and of information regarding the things that move men elsewhere was rarely to be found. As one unhappy American commentator phrased it, with an amendment of the old college jest, "You can always tell a Puerto Rican—but you can't tell him much."

The one thing that is more disquieting to Puerto Ricans than any other single detail when once they realize it is the all but complete indifference of the people of the United States to the island of Puerto Rico. In the multitude, except vaguely, Americans don't know where it is, or what it is, and they don't care! I agree with the Puerto Ricans that this is unfortunate, and worse. It is wrong. I am hoping to relate Puerto Rico in some measure to such readers as turn these pages, for it is more than just another beautiful island, 1,400 miles at sea, with a status in our own affairs. But despite my hope that even this book may contain paragraphs of continuing interest, I am realistic as to the meager attention that Puerto Rico has been commanding.

Too many Americans literally do not know whether San Juan is in the Philippines or not; travelers returning from the four-day voyage to Puerto Rico are asked if they stopped at Honolulu and Manila on the way; and if there could be a United States consul at San Juan, which is the capital city of a part of the United States, he would get mail addressed thus by every steamer. And yet the custom-house takes no more interest in what a passenger carries either way between New York and San Juan than if it were between Chicago and Milwaukee. The same United States postage-stamps carry letters at the same rate, and the same coinage is the only coinage.

As a final example of ignorance about the island and its relationship, so gross that it may be taken inclusively as an index for all the minor ones, observe the authenticated incident of the United States Senator and the letter he wrote. The Senator in question is a member of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, with the matters that revolve around the Philippines, Hawaii, Samoa, Alaska, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico falling under observation in the natural course of his duties. But from him something more than a year ago, there was received in San Juan a letter of inquiry requesting certain information which would be of interest to him, addressed to the "President" of Puerto Rico, West Indies. As the blundering envelope and letter was foredoomed to do, it passed around rather widely for observation. People tried to laugh it off as the bit of carelessness it must have been, but for a long time it will be used as a citation as to just how much Washington knows about the island.

Puerto Ricans are more impervious to the fact of the minor interest that island affairs command because they are unconscious of it and, except the better-informed ones who travel, prone to disbelieve the fact when it has to be pointed out to them. In their own consciousness, the island to which they are so devotedly and justly attached has all but the same universality of interest among the people of the continental North as among themselves. It deserves that degree of interest, *ergo* it must command that degree of interest.

What comes to their eye as spectacular outgivings from some obscure Washington source, reported in the cable news, must naturally be spread out in the same proportion before the breakfast-table readers of the entire United States. A detail of the sugar industry, which is of supervening importance to the island, must be commanding the same concentrated attention of every eye throughout the United States. A brief speech in Congress, embodying references to Puerto Rico, with expanded publication thereafter in the *Congressional Record* under the "leave to extend remarks" privilege, must be the subject of discussion in every household on the mainland!

When it comes to an issue of such vital interest as the basic relationship of Puerto Rico to the United States it is unthinkable to the Puerto Rican that there should be any inattention to the crucial circumstances involved. The political group that clamors for "liberty from the American yoke of oppression," at one extreme, to the group that wants things to remain just as they are at the other extreme, with all the gradations between, are generally at one in the belief that such refinements of difference are contemplated and determined by the forty million voters up North.

Sensitive as they are, it would pain them grievously to realize how largely indifferent the people of the United States are as to whether the island shall be in any relationship whatever to the Union. They cannot realize that this indifference, based on lack of information though it may be, is an entirely kind one. Too many Puerto Ricans feel that they must translate the explanation of the American attitude into terms of conscious political purposes, primarily selfish.

The beauteous island which all the world would naturally admire and covet, the rich potentialities resultant from its ultimate prosperity, the people who are justly to be so prized for their racial worthiness, and every manifestation of man and nature, unite in Puerto Rican estimates to make the island the same prize possession to the continental United States which it is to themselves. Believing this, it is not strange that they interpret everything under that concept when they look for motivations. It parallels the child's concept of his own most treasured toy as a coveted object for seizure by any sturdier youth whose predatory instincts are unrestrained.

There is one eternal factor in the fundamental affairs of the island which must be looked at with frankness, even though the glance and the frankness may give distress. The race question—the question of color—must be regarded instead of ignored. Injustice and unfairness of understanding are even more certain, more unkind, if the subject be put aside as an unmentionable.

The first realization that there is an exotic racial situation in Puerto Rico comes to the casual traveler in its more picturesque manifestations of steamship, street and tourist contacts, as it would in any of the West Indian islands. But just as there is for tourists the picturesque "black republic" of Haiti so there are also "white" islands in the Caribbean, and varying conditions all the way between. Circumstances in Puerto Rico, developing through centuries of Spanish rule and onward into the American regime, have produced conditions there as they are now, and we have to accept them as they are now. The laws of the United States and the laws of Puerto Rico, as well as the social attitudes of both, are elements that cannot be modified by magic or even by time with any measurable speed. Into the situation there enter such standards of Spanish pride and Spanish practise as may have persisted through the centuries; such American political standards and social standards as variously obtain as the American habit; and finally the established habit of the mass population of the island, far outnumbering those of either of the foregoing factors.

With their historically recognized efficiency in one detail at least, the Spanish *conquistadores* went far toward the exterminating of the native tribes. The extermination was not so much deliberate as it was the natural result of the practise of industrial slavery which wore out to the very death, the unaccustomed native. Those who survived manifested their racial vigor thereby, even though they took to the hills and hid. Individual remnants of the race are therefore still vaguely identified in the mountains of the interior, by their physiognomy, and, indeed, some of the habits of life, however faint the traces after centuries of interbreeding with the Spanish and the Africans who became their successors.

The African slave trade was the source of a labor supply for Puerto Rico after it was once in effect, and this continued as it did in the other islands and coasts of the Caribbean Sea until outlawed. Within this island, the institution of slavery seems to have been less harsh than in some other regions where it survived. It was a common practise for the slave laborer to obtain the privilege of seeking his own employment and then to draw wages, part of which he paid to his "owner" for that privilege, thus gradually buying his own liberty. Since slavery itself was thus ameliorated, the institution had less of shamefulness attached to it as the years went by, and after abolition in the island, there was less tradition to live down in modifications of the social system.

The admixture of races existed as has always been the case when a dominant superior race holds possession of a subordinate race. Children of mixed blood multiplied. At the same time, as has also always been true, there were those in both races who not only preached but practised their pride in purity of blood. There were Spaniards who saw to it that the Castilian blood of their households was not soiled by an inferior stream. Unmixed blood in many a proud Spanish family is cherished with all the pride of a Puritan. Also there are unmistakably black African households which may justly take pride in the superiority of their unmixed blood. Long time students of racial characteristics declare that the pure-blooded Africans are of superior strength and intelligence to the far greater number of half-castes.

In Puerto Rico all these elements stand in exact equality before the law. The law takes no cognizance of difference, nor is there even a theoretical denial of opportunities except through social practise. The shops, the schools, the theaters, the hotels, the public offices high and low, the professions, and the patrons of the professions, present no separation by rule and but little by practise.

Private schools exist where none but white children are in attendance, but the public schools and the University practise no discrimination either among the students or the faculties. Society is its own arbiter here as elsewhere, making its own rules and its own decisions. In every city of size there is a Spanish Casino, social center of formal and recreational society life, and restricted in membership to those of the white race.

Usually, however, there are other casino groups where the barriers are not so high, and in them there is a less restricted mixture of social life.

The inflow of Spanish immigration from Spain did not terminate with the days of the discovery and the centuries of high adventure. Always there has been the enlargement of the Spanish element by immigration. Soldiers on island duty have married and remained when their enlistment expired. Civil officials and military officers sent to service in the island have found it so alluring that many have chosen to make their homes there where life was softer and the climate more genial. So the truly Spanish element not only has its households dating back to the period of colonization, but also those who have come, year by year, since that time. Both have comprised the Spanish Casino, and they have founded the Spanish families.

There seems to be no rule which governs households and makes them Spanish rather than Puerto Rican, or contrawise. There is no clear terminology to guide the traveler as to whether a certain Puerto Rican gentleman is a Spaniard or a certain Spaniard is a Puerto Rican. That particular perplexity has no relation to the color line. There is no similar guidance for the stranger to adopt such as was established in New Orleans, where Creole from long ago meant solely a Louisianian born of French or Spanish origin.

With all this unclarity, it is not strange that white households are sensitive to the misunderstandings that rule among their new fellow-citizens of the United States. Over and over some friend of ours has remarked ruefully, trying to smile it off, "Can't you make the people of the United States understand that this is a white country, not a Negro country? When we go to New York or Washington or Europe, and speak of ourselves as Puerto Ricans, we continually meet the surprised remark, 'Why, we thought Puerto Ricans were Negroes!'" The fact that the question rose at all, helps to prove the sensitiveness of the situation. In that detail, the white population of the island does suffer exactly such misunderstanding, and it will have to carry that cross until knowledge overtakes it.

Travelers meet frequent surprises at the discovery of Negroes and half-castes in social circles and in places where they do not expect to find them. They are no less surprised to learn of the accepted Negro identity of many whose mixed blood they would never suspect. Puerto Ricans have acquired an aptitude for quick identification that enables them to know, if not the percentage of blood dilution, at least the actuality of it. They are not easily fooled by the individuals who "cross over," although that number must be a substantial one every year.

Some of the most generous and valuable cooperation in my study of conditions came from Puerto Rican friends, educated men in professional life, and of the finest qualities, who were themselves members of Negro households. Sometimes this was not so known to me at first, their friendship becoming the more valued with my own consciousness that in the academic discussion of circumstances they were enduring a poignant situation in the hope of having things understood.

Not the least eloquent proof of the sensitiveness and the immaturity of the Puerto Rican people comes in their disquieting protest when the fact of one's race is mentioned as an attendant circumstance. Actually it carries no shadow upon any man's race to state it as a fact, helpful in the understanding of the man and his abilities. Bond or free, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Greek or Roman, Oriental or Occidental, it should carry no odium that his characterization includes his racial identity. But the mental attitude of Puerto Ricans is to be critical of the narrator who mentions that any certain man under discussion has Negro blood in his veins. The fact is avoided in conversation. It is even concealed whenever opportunity permits. And too often it is mistakenly assumed that a mention of the fact is intended to be derogatory rather than informative.

The last census of Puerto Rico, taken on Dec. 1, 1935, showed a population of 1,723,534, and mounting rapidly, in contrast with the Spanish figures of forty years ago when the indicated total was less than 900,000. It is well not to put too much weight on the accuracy of the Spanish census, for the island folk were more or less reluctant to be tallied, fearing that some plan for higher taxes or military duty might be the underlying purpose. Their tendency was to efface themselves from notice and stay out of sight as long as the instinct for self-protection remained active.

One may be similarly distrustful as to certain figures in the American census, at least those figures that undertake to be exact as to the racial elements. The census takers, obtaining their information from the head of the household, do not attempt to verify the more or less casual figures volunteered in reply to their inquiry. They ask for the facts as to racial origins, and they set down whatever is said in reply, leaving it at that. The Puerto Rican answers as he chooses, as to whether he and his household are black, white, or of mixed blood. No one has to tell the truth, and not all do. Nevertheless, from these reports, totals in each classification are determined and percentages computed. I have no reason to dispute the figures, but certainly they possess little final authority. The mathematical statement indicates that some thirty-five percent, or say, roughly, 700,000 of the population, are of mixed blood, white with black.

The testimony of the eye can be of little value or none in checking such figures, although I found that they are regarded as fairly accurate in the matter of racial origins. In the cities one would incline to think thirty-five percent of mixed blood too low, by the visible indications, but throughout the agricultural districts, and particularly in the remoter hill-towns and cities, this opinion would reverse itself with an impression that the truly white population reaches a larger percentage than the computed sixty-five percent.

Of course, it will be realized that the initiative and the blame for the breeding of a mixed race through four centuries must lie only with the men. Nor could it have been those of the lowlier stations in life that were at fault. White men, holding themselves privileged in their wanderings, and with their characteristically dominant attitude over those of humbler position, must take the blame even though they acquit themselves.

The most intelligent commentary made upon the matter of race-mixture came to me in conversation with a leading figure in the business world, a true Puerto Rican of pure Spanish origin, proud of the island and its possibilities, without blinding his eyes to the verities. There were no evasions on his part as to the unfortunate looseness of life and thoughtlessness of consequences that have shared in making Puerto Rico conditions what they are. He accepted as fairly correct the figure of thirty-five percent as the enumeration of Puerto Ricans of mixed blood. In answering my question as to whether that percentage is stationary, he analyzed it with the utmost frankness.

"It is my opinion," he declared, "that the birth of children of mixed blood has just about reached a constant rate. But I believe that these births are practically limited to their own circle of intermarriage, both parents being of mixed blood, and continuing to rear their households. In my opinion, the number of such births that occur by the parentage of a white father and a mixed blood or a black mother is negligible, and diminishing. A public opinion is developing which tends to terminate this latter production, and confines the birth of half-caste children to the natural increase to which those families have a right.

"If I am correct, the percentage will slowly diminish, because of the tendency of mixed blood to run out. In addition, the improved sanitation of the island, the greater attention to the care of mothers and children, and the benevolences that the American regime has brought about, increase the percentage of survival and save a host of children who would not otherwise live. In other words, we are not likely to have an increased percentage of new-born half-caste children, but we are likely to have an increased percentage of them surviving in health and vigor until the breeding-out process reduces them in number. More babies will survive in the class which is the more prolific, and those who produce the smaller families are not the ones who contribute to race admixture."

No problem can embody the whole of potentialities so great as this race and color line in Puerto Rico without its incidents that reach the proportions of tragedy. And no such problem can be so restricted that its entanglements are limited to one element of the population.

Chapter XXX

PUERTO RICAN HOPES AND OUTLOOKS

THE only predetermined conviction with which the gathering of material for this book was approached was that in considering the relationship, what is best for Puerto Rico should be the objective, whatever the cost to the United States, not what is best for the United States. If by good fortune in all or any circumstances it should develop that these two possibilities coincide, that would be fine, but otherwise each situation should be resolved in favor of Puerto Rico. That position should be maintained, whether in relation to political, industrial or economic affairs.

So surpassingly greater in dimensions of every sort is our continental North—size, money, men, crops, resources—that either as obligation or gratuity the cost of that policy could be carried without undue burden. We, not they, established the relationship. Therefore the fact that for years to come, beyond any calculation, the United States will have to pour money into Puerto Rico to support the requirements of rehabilitation is not a detail of final consequence which should enter into a discussion of relationship.

Even rehabilitation is not the right word. There is an implication in the prefix that things which once upon a time were better, must somehow be recaptured and remade to what they were in the good old days. Even if this were to become a completed task, the people of the United States would still find no content for themselves in that fact. It is going to be a program of years uncounted to reach any approximation to what Americans must establish for their own comfort of mind in this island of alien beginnings, now part of the American household.

The crux of the problem does not lie in the foregoing attitude, but in the collateral question, "Who shall determine what is best for Puerto Rico? Themselves? Who, and how?"

The right and the obligation of a people to determine for themselves what their government shall be, in form and in practise, by every impulse of democracy rests with them alone. Once the United States had military possession of the island of Cuba, and more than once under the treaty stipulations we returned and interposed to reestablish order there and give the Cuban republic a fresh start. We vowed that Cuba should be free, and at substantial cost we have seen to that. We are keeping more promises than we ever made to the Philippine Islands, to place them under a government of their own. However the political leaders of island restlessness and the provocateur press may pretend that Puerto Rico suffers under the heel of the northern tyrant, they know such stuff to be nothing but rubbish, of nuisance value only to themselves.

Puerto Ricans, whether they desire one form or another of political relationship with the United States, hardly comprehend that the people of the United States care not at all for national sovereignty over Puerto Rico, and would be impulsively content at any time to yield the island to the islanders as their own. "Go in peace, and God bless you!" That would be the condensed attitude of the United States to any genuine wish for separation representing the real opinion of the island people.

In fact, the people of the United States are probably prepared and quite willing to be fooled about that matter of island opinion. Political outbreaks and uprisings make excellent newspaper material. Political assassinations shock the sensibilities of all civilized folk. When clamorous minorities, led either by demagogues or by misguided martyrs, make such news and use it to prove that revolution is on the march, there is bound to be an emotional response among distant readers, the more remote geographically the more astray as to the actualities.

When the assassination of Colonel Riggs occurred the American reaction was one of mixed emotions, outraged wrath at the atrocity, the assassins and their political leaders who incited them, and reluctant shame that even a distorted cause for such a political crime could arise under the American flag. Some leaped too easily to the acceptance of the wild allegations of oppression, and the demand for liberty from the tyranny of the colossus of the North. Senator Tydings made his indignant gesture suggesting an early plebiscite on the question of insular independence, and the granting of such independence if the island should so choose.

In Puerto Rico the sense of outrage against the Tydings Bill, against that inconsiderate motion to throw the hapless island to its own demagogues, was so bitter that an election held immediately, before time for passions to cool, would have resulted in an almost unanimous vote to cut adrift. Uninformed America would have blundered into almost as unanimous an assent to the instant severance of the political ties—and would have said "good riddance!" Happily time intervened, opportunity to examine the truth and be guided by it. Happily the Tydings Bill all but died on its feet, and various less clumsy though still untoward measures took their later turn to be dropped into the Congressional waste-basket.

Puerto Rican "freedom" from the American "bondage" is not to be settled so fast or so easily. Americans in the mass are uninformed as to Puerto Rico, and so are Puerto Ricans in the mass uninformed about national and international relationships. Americans say, "Let them go if they want to go." As to the Puerto Ricans, with one small minority party waging its footless but vociferous campaign for "freedom," and the masses of the island all but inarticulate—they have no audible voice. Such is the present situation. Once more, then, we come to the question as to how any such determination could be made.

At last it begins to appear that the thoughtful people of the island, literate Puerto Rico, realize their own obligation to take positions and publicly to sustain them. Island habit hitherto has left political expression largely to professional politicians. Business men, merchants, planters, and in general the people of casual self-supporting life and good citizenship in some prosperity, have read the newspapers with favor or disfavor, divided themselves among the political camps, listened to their party leaders whose business was politics or whose politics was business, and left expression of opinion to them.

There has been a reprehensible neglect among these men and women to express themselves freely in public meetings, in letters to the editors of the island press, and in conversation, to show where they stand on the fundamentals and register their convictions. They are beginning to realize that it was a mistake to leave the expression of public opinion—which was themselves—either to their own party leaders or those of the opposition. Party leaders had been doing their own trading. This time it was a matter for public expression.

It is increasingly apparent that island opinion, uncrystallized and unexpressed though it be, so far as the literate are concerned, is overwhelmingly in favor of continuance of political relations under the American flag, with Puerto Ricans remaining citizens of the United States. However they may differ upon fragmentary details, however some of them may wish that there might be an elected governor instead of an appointed one, or an assistant governor "taking training," full statehood instead of insular government, or even autonomy of some sort as an American protectorate, they cherish and insist upon the manifest destiny of Puerto Rico in fellowship with the United States. They have come to realize that autonomy under the Spanish flag, as granted early in 1898, was a deception by the Crown and a delusion upon the part of Puerto Ricans, in the light of the "jokers" it contained, and that the actualities of freedom to-day under the American flag and the Organic Act run far beyond those of the overseas pretensions.

It would be a grave mistake to think that the foregoing picture of the Puerto Rican political attitude implies a thought of control by aristocracy. No such impulse manifests itself among the thoughtful people from whose opinions this conspectus has been drawn. They beyond all others are zealous in the cause of wider literacy, better schools, and more of them. They want the island population to be lifted and to lift themselves out of the depths of poverty and backwardness. They want an informed island population, competent to hear and read and understand the island problems and issues.

They believe that the next or the second generation may reach a position from which their preference would be intelligently expressed. They feel that since no medium of presentation now exists through which issues can be presented to the illiterate million except by the stump-speech route of campaign oratory, no utterance by plebiscite could possibly express a true island opinion, and the garbled expression by emotion would precipitate an irrevocable decision and an irremediable disaster.

In the end, of course, however far off, Puerto Rico must be governed by the Puerto Ricans, whether in statehood or otherwise, rather than by continental Americans conferred upon them. No American wants to look down the vista of the future always beholding even one such anomaly as a governed colonial possession under the American flag. If Puerto Ricans can but realize that this resolve will be as firmly fixed in the United States as in the island, the time limitation when that happy circumstance shall come to pass to be determined in the common interest, there is an assured future of good-will and benefit to all.

One of the most illuminating evenings granted to me during this recent protracted stay in the island was the occasion of a gathering of a dozen gentlemen at the home of a hospitable Puerto Rican friend who had invited them for a conference and a proffering of help in assembling source material. They were fruitful of constructive suggestion, themselves possessed of the widest information as to island affairs, and generously responsive to inquiries, with no subject too important or too delicate to be discussed. They were themselves in substantial measure the leaders in their respective professions and business undertakings. They were sharply but temperately at variance in their political relationships, their social and financial outlooks, and the solutions they offered for various problems.

It became my delight to throw out a question and then sit back and hear how men of their quality could reply, forcefully at issue with each other in many instances, but always with frankness, resourcefulness, good temper and enlightenment. Almost every island political affiliation was represented, some of them on terms far from friendly as to the entangled issues of the hour. But they proved the caliber of such men, and I felt myself honored in the opportunity to meet them thus. There was no time thereafter when any one of them failed me when I sought sources of further information. Nor, parenthetically, was there ever a time when I found one of these men attempting to divert me from opinions and findings contrary to their own convictions. They were tolerant when I thought I saw flaws in their positions and merit in the opposition.

Diversified as these notables were in their affairs, and eager each to have his own point of view clearly understood and supported, they were a unit of agreement on one detail. Every one of them wanted to be understood as equally a devoted Puerto Rican and a loyal American. They avowed not alone the actuality of their American citizenship, but their pride in it and the tenacity with which they would uphold it. They were scornful of any suggestion that the island might some day be separated from its American relationship. The assassination of Colonel Riggs had been a profound shock to all of them. Second only was the shock when the Tydings Bill was hurried into the United States Senate, a measure actuated by righteous anger, they agreed, but as indiscriminate in the revenge it turned upon every Puerto Rican for the crime of a few, as the original outrage itself had been.

"There is no way to take a plebiscite," said one of the earnest group, "better than the plebiscite taken last fall in the form of the election itself. The people of Puerto Rico, in the election of 1936, voted their sober judgment with the largest vote ever cast in the island, and expressed their satisfaction in their American citizenship. There is no way to take a plebiscite more completely representative. The negligible vote in favor of the Nationalist candidates, and the overwhelming vote of the Coalition which stands for our citizenship and life under the American flag, spoke eloquently. I am just as much an American citizen as any man in the continental North, and I'd like to see any one try to take that citizenship away from me!"

There spoke the Puerto Rican sentiment, confirmed by every other man in the group, varied as they were in political affiliations and in occupations, and entitled to high respect for their faithful interpretation of island thought, in so far as thought can be registered.

There were men in that circle who felt it difficult to forgive the unworthy appointments made by more than one president, using Puerto Rican office as a reward for partizan political service in the United States. They knew realistically what governors were good and what governors were bad. They were more generous in their judgment than I could have been with such full knowledge of the sorry facts. But every one of them continued to have faith that such evil days are gone forever, with a new standard established.

Some of them hoped for early statehood, in full fellowship with the forty-eight states of the continental North. Not one protested against the theory that readiness for admission to such an irrevocable fellowship must be proved and earned, however long that might take. Most of them wished as a next step that the insular governorship might soon become an elective office, filled by an island vote rather than by presidential appointment.

They gave little heed to the inquiry whether this would improve the caliber of the governors. Whether each governor is good or bad does not affect the principle involved. The Beverley appointment, in their estimation—he served briefly as governor in 1932, under appointment by President Hoover—while entirely worthy in itself, was no better merely because Governor Beverley had lived in Puerto Rico for a while as attorney-general, and knew the island well.

An American appointee who might have come to the island with the first Americans in 1898, and remained there as a resident citizen ever after, with a friendly understanding of the people and the problems, would no better satisfy them or meet the theory. He would still be an appointive governor. But if elected by the people, any one they chose ("Even a Gore") would be their own choice, not an appointee from without imposed upon them, and the selection would thereby become a part of the test of their capacity for self-government in statehood.

Sitting in another conference with a group of scholarly Puerto Ricans, I found them sharply divergent as to the most effective manner of teaching adequate English to the island people. The issue was confined, however, to the matter of methods, a normal school discussion rather than a political one. There was no divergence whatever as to the objective—a universal bilingual command as soon as possible—except from one genial dissenter who argued that English could not be superimposed upon the people within reasonable time limits, and therefore the effort might as well be abandoned. He wanted English to be left as a cultural language rather than to have it become a vernacular. His colleagues did the demolishing of his argument so vigorously, but so genially, that he was moved to declare himself merely a dissenter for the purpose of discussion. They rested firmly upon the ground that the economic welfare of the island largely lay in command of the two languages. They made it clear that all other solutions of the language question are inadequate because of the ever-present specter of overpopulation.

Those Spanish-speaking countries of Central America and South America that are sparsely settled have no allure for the

Puerto Rican—such countries as, for instance, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba and Santo Domingo. Puerto Ricans regard them as lands without liberty, dictatorships which they would loathe. Santo Domingo has room for many thousands of new settlers, and President Trujillo would welcome an inflow of Puerto Ricans. But Puerto Ricans who know what liberty under the American flag permits and protects for them regard Trujillo as an oppressor, a benevolent dictator as dictators go, but still an oppressor, and they have no interest whatever in immigration into his Dominican "republic."

In other words, the countries where Puerto Ricans would be welcome hold no appeal for the surplus mass of Puerto Ricans. Those more enlightened South American countries where they might be willing to go—Argentina for instance, and the other more prosperous and more orderly republics—have no welcome for Puerto Ricans. They regard the people of this problem-island as a mixed race, of doubtful value to them, and they are vigorous in the exclusion of immigration of that type.

The United States remains the only country to which our fellow-citizens of Puerto Rico have unrestricted access, by the right of citizenship, to come and go at will. They enter the United States in great number, settling in Puerto Rican colonies, chiefly in New York and Brooklyn, where they find the winters harsh to their health and comfort, themselves depressed with nostalgia. Industrially the men find themselves but little valued either in skilled or unskilled labor. They do not speak the English language, therefore they cannot receive instructions nor understand orders. The women are not favored for domestic service in American households. Many employment agencies refuse to enter the names of Puerto Rican women as applicants, because the women seeking domestic help cannot convey instructions to them.

Ruefully endeavoring to spare the Harlem Puerto Ricans some of the blame for the uncertain quality of that colony, friends in San Juan tell me of an odd circumstance said to exist in certain cities where large numbers of the island emigrants have settled. The value of American citizenship is so well realized—diplomatic protection, the privilege to come and go freely without passports, and the liberties preserved under the Bill of Rights—that many Spanish Americans from the republics of the south have made their way into the United States, and thereafter promptly merged themselves into the Puerto Rican colony, "crossing over," and evermore destined to declare themselves Puerto Ricans.

In a fair presentation to the people of Puerto Rico, the facts about the island relationship to the United States—the facts of citizenship, government, industry, and political status—ought to be set forth by Puerto Ricans. The men of understanding and thoughtfulness, with the interests of their island, their fellow-citizens and themselves at stake, must stand up and speak in the support of what they know to be the actualities. They must leave their seclusion, break their silence, and take firm position in the leadership for which they are qualified.

At Ponce a striking example has occurred of what can be done to place actualities before the people through the local press, by the frank, courageous utterances of a cultured young leader in business and in citizenship. The Ferré family, father and sons, founded, own, and personally manage one of the few great island industrial enterprises, the Puerto Rico Iron Works at the Playa in Ponce. Here they design and build bridge and structural material, sugar-mill machinery, and, in general, the varied products of a considerable plant for heavy duty in iron and steel.

Citizens for generations, though of French origin, they are valued factors in community affairs. All of them have been educated in the technological and engineering schools of the United States and France. As veritable pioneers in such an experiment in Puerto Rico they have established modern relationships with their several hundred employees, with profit-sharing, insurance, retirement and pension provisions, an improved housing program for their labor, and a resulting responsiveness of spirit in the plant which would make it a profitable thing to have done, even if it had been selfishly actuated.

But this was not all. The young Luis A. Ferré, active in the management of the plant, was also a cosmopolitan, with a background of continental education and observation. He heard the fallacies preached by the soapbox orators, noted the cultivation of anti-Americanization based on those fallacies, and set his pen to work. In a series of two-column articles in a leading daily paper of Ponce, running for several months during 1936-37, he presented a forceful analysis of the facts and their significance. Under a general caption, "En Defensa de Puerto Rico," perhaps freely to be translated as "For the Best Interests of Puerto Rico," he has written the most effective presentation I have read of the truth as he knows it.

Temperate but forceful in his statements, logical as mathematics with a warm heart, simple and direct, chapter by chapter, the articles marshal the truth about the two regimes, Spanish and American; the motivation and spirit of both; the agricultural, industrial and political situation as it has developed and as it may be; the freedom, the economics and the moral uprightness of the status existing and in prospect; the facts about "Cuba Libre" and the other comparable Spanish-American countries and their welfare, and reach a conclusion as earnest and sincere as it is inevitable—that manifest destiny is kind instead of cruel to the beloved island in establishing its fellowship with the United States.

Such a presentation of actualities, associated with Mr. Justice del Toro's Fourth of July address which is quoted elsewhere, becomes a noteworthy exemplar for the Puerto Ricans who voice the same thoughts privately, but are slow to step out in leadership of public opinion. This must be done by the written word and the spoken word, in public and in private. They affirm privately that nothing but disaster could befall the island if the relationship with the United States were to be dissolved. They are eloquent and effective in supporting the contention that Puerto Rico is already free as a part of the United States; free in everything except the attenuated political details which have not the slightest bearing upon their lives; economically free and free to speak, write, assemble or travel where they will; free to a degree unknown in any Spanish-American republic in the Western Hemisphere or in any but few European countries. It will be a sorry day if they leave leadership to those who capitalize the language of independence in their high-sounding, delusive agitations.

It is a commonplace that student bodies "go collegiate" from time to time, whether to celebrate or deplore, either in athletic, scholastic or political affairs. It would be lamentable to find student enthusiasms quenched merely because they burst into unexpected manifestations. One of the best things that college students do is to be alternately contemptuous or captivated in their judgment of political blandishments. Conservative or radical, they are likely to break bounds on occasion.

It is an unhappy fact that the University of Puerto Rico has found itself conspicuous in the news of the last few years through the dynamic fervor of a small group of students who bowed to the effective speechmaking of their hero, Albizu Campos, and trailed along into student demonstrations, student riots, and even student conspiracies. They represented actually but a small minor fraction in the University, but the facts were dramatic, the students or their leaders knew how to dramatize them for the press, and so, to the newspaper readers back home, revolution was brewing. One of Chancellor Soto's tasks, one test of his philosophy and his resourcefulness in a difficult situation, will be to show the student body that disorder has no place in such an institution of scholarship, that students should read and reason, and that outbreak is no solution for anything.

One of my American island friends found himself listening to a theoretical firebrand who was arguing that the age and glory of Spanish culture made American civilization all but an up-start. The universities of Spain, he averred, were distinguished for centuries before Harvard and Yale were born, the South American universities—notably Lima—almost the first fruit of the Spanish conquest of the Western Hemisphere.

"Yes," my American friend agreed, "those institutions had noble beginnings. And every one of them in Spain is closed under the cloud of civil war in the peninsula, where rarely has there existed any true semblance of personal liberty of thought, speech, assembly or religion. The mandate of the Crown or of a dictator holding machine-gun authority generally makes true freedom unknown. The last time I was in South America," he continued, "one of those most ancient of universities had been closed for three years because a dictator did not like to have freedom trespass upon his authority, and others since then have been added to the list of closed institutions! Can you imagine such an infraction of the liberty of a Harvard or a Yale? In the United States university men say what they think, however startling, accepting the responsibility that attaches to freedom of speech. Where else are you going to find such complete freedom, present or future, even in what you phrase as self-government, as you now possess as a citizen of the United States?"

Puerto Rico does not readily lend itself to a purely objective study. Puerto Rico itself seems to be subjective rather than objective. Whether one be speaking of the manifestations of mankind or nature, all Puerto Rico is emotional and the observers' reactions are inevitably emotional. By just so much, therefore, there is the inevitable dilution of factual accuracy.

In conversation in his own home with one highly educated Puerto Rican friend, serious in his concentration upon island affairs and the welfare of the people, I heard what seemed to me the profound truth about the island and all its problems in a single expression. My host told me of his conference with a continental American of official importance, stationed in Puerto Rico and earnestly striving to understand the whole situation and to do his own work faithfully and well. They were trying to get down to the fundamentals of theory and practise.

The Puerto Rican said to the American, "You have been here for six months, studying, thinking, and working. Have you come to one single conclusion, one fixed, crystallized judgment upon which you feel able to rest as a settled matter, without further inquiry or consideration to be given to it? If you have, I should like to know what it is, and if I agree as to its rightness I shall feel that something is under way toward accomplishment, however slow."

The American replied, "Only one thing has finally become so clear in my convictions as to meet all the conditions of your question. I have come to but one conclusion that I can put aside as a finality. We must use scientific men, impersonally scientific, in every element of the island problem, with a visionary, a practical sentimentalist, in chief authority over them. All other processes of meeting the problems and solving them are mere palliatives."

As I write, I recall the animation of my friend as he quoted himself to tell me his rejoinder: "I go all the way with you! We can clinch that point as settled. I add one qualification: that visionary chief, that practical idealist, must add love to his equipment. He must be a greater man than we have yet seen on the island, who brings love of his job, of Puerto Rico, and of its people, even when they are least lovable, and he must be willing to remain and see things through in the face of discouragement, misunderstanding, and attack."

Expanding the implications of the foregoing episode, I found many Puerto Ricans and many Americans who were in full harmony with that position as expressed so precisely by practical philosophers "on the job." To it there might be added explicit amendments, extensions, or suggestions as to method, but the thoughtful men of the island seemed finally to agree upon the first fundamentals. With such conclusions I found myself in full agreement.

No matter how truthful the charge that this is but a counsel of perfection, it still remains correct. No matter how much it calls for a miracle-man and a miracle, it is still sound. Infinite devotion to the job with no end in sight, infinite patience through delays and misunderstandings, despite infinite disheartenment from the misjudgments and the resistance of those who are to be the beneficiaries—the man with that equipment must be found—and his troubles will be waiting for him.

Perhaps more than one appointed governor of the past might have qualified more highly if the appointment had been made for its distinction rather than for quick reward of partizan service. But it is difficult to identify the superman in that list. The specifications for such a post, whatever its official title, call for more than the appointee can bring to his work in his own personality—including a tenure of office of such length and such certainty that he knows himself to be immune to attack, promotion, or removal.

He may be soldier or statesman, lawyer or merchant, financier or philosopher, but he must have time as his ally. The appointee who takes the position for temporary glory leading to a more spectacular promotion will be deservedly written down as a failure, as in one conspicuous example. The man who is small enough to regard the governorship or a commissionership or some unguessed authority as a reward is not big enough to fill the place. The man of far advanced years, ripe experience and grace of nature, of polish as well as heart and spirit, might expend himself generously in the service of the island, but the time prospect remaining in his allotment of years would not promise long and arduous service to a distant end. It is the future as well as the present that must be served. No man in the United States is too big to be drafted for this job, and a presidential draft of such an appointee would be a challenge to that biggest man which he should not decline.

Completing the array or specifications which approach the impossible is the matter of tenure of office. This does not mean the unwillingness of distinction to continue in unappreciated service, but the inability of presidents, under the law, to assure in advance the appointment for more than four years, a single term of office. An appointment must begin with the realization that the new incumbent will not know the facts as to the island and his job for the first few months or even years in office. After he knows the facts he will have to function by trial and error less frequently than theretofore, but his percentage of error will still continue.

From the very beginning, except for the first amenities, an acrid opposition press and a vociferous public opinion following political leadership in divers directions will be hypercritical and ungrateful. Gadfly demagogues and a provocateur press will sting him like hornets, whatever he does, making demands upon Washington for his prompt removal, filling the newspapers at home with sporadic stuff to prove that another failure in island government has been registered. It will be a heartbreaking ordeal. And such is the vista down which the realist must count the years for himself, before Puerto Rico and the United States understand and value each other in full measure.

INDEX

INDEX

Adjuntas, 119, 144, 153, 269
Agriculture, xv, xvi, 9, 12, 14, 59, 71, 76, 78, 79, 134, 146, 153 f., 156, 202, 237, 242 ff., 266; Agricultural Experiment Station, 138 f., 185, 243 ff.; *see also* Cocoanuts, Coffee, Grapefruit, Oranges, Pineapples, Sugar, Tobacco
Aguada, 7, 128, 139
Aguadilla, 7, 101, 121, 127, 139, 152, 325 f.
Aibonito, 118, 119, 153
Airplane service to Puerto Rico, 93 f.
Allen, Charles H., 57 f., 324
Alzibu Campos, Pedro, 200 ff., 295 ff., 309 ff., 314, 372
American colony in Puerto Rico, 156, 173 f., 181, 184 ff., 208, 218 f., 264 ff., 288, 294
Añasco, 139
Archeological remains, 8
Architecture, 19 ff., 161, 232 f., 326 f.
Arecibo, 27, 101, 121, 127, 152
Arroyo, 31, 33, 146, 155
Art and artists, 12, 322 f.
Ashford, Dr. Bailey K., 191, 324
Atheneum, 114, 175 f., 220, 322
Automobiles and driving, 123 ff.; *see also* Highways
Aviño, Pedro Manzano, *see* Manzano Aviño, Pedro

Baldoni, Luis, 204, 206, 207
Barcelo, Antonio R., 223, 296, 306, 311 f.
Barceloneta, 127
Barranquitas, 153, 154 f.
Bayamon, 152
Begging and beggars, 342 ff.
Benner, Thomas Eliot, 223
Bernabe, Dr. Rafael, 200 f.
Beverley, Governor, 204, 206, 367 f.
Bill of Rights, 4, 48, 297
Books by Puerto Ricans and about Puerto Rico, *see* Literature
"Borinquen" (or "Boriquen"), 6, 320; national song, 62 f.
Brooke, John R., 30 ff., 38 f., 42, 284
Bruckman, Matthew, 15
Buses, 122 f.

Cabo Rojo, 6, 139, 155
Caguas, 34, 118, 152, 270
Campos, Pedro Alzibu, *see* Alzibu Campos, Pedro
Camps, *see* Hotels and camps
Camps in the Caribbees (Ober), xxi
Camuy, 127
Canovanas, 268
Caparra, 10, 93, 162, 163
Capitol, 67, 73 f., 114, 176, 232 ff., 260
Carolina, 270
Cartwright, Wilburn, 312
Casa Blanca, 11, 25, 92, 114, 160, 163, 167
Casa de España, 176 ff.
Casinos, 177, 355 f.; Casino de Puerto Rico, 114, 175
Cataño, 93
Cathedral, 114, 163
Cayey, 33, 34, 114, 118, 152, 198
Ceiba, 268
Cement industry, 267 f.
Cervera, Admiral, 24 f.
Chardon, Carlos Eugenio, 223 ff., 264 f., 306, 312
Chester, Colby M., 37, 285
Cialito, 153
Cidra, 152, 153
Citizenship, 47 f., 53 f., 64, 180 f., 366 f.; *see also* Spanish citizens
Civil War in Spain, effect on Puerto Rico, 182 ff.
Climate, 58, 113, 194 ff., 262
Coamo, 31, 118, 119, 149; (steamer), 314
Coamo Baños, 114 f., 149 ff., 282 f.
Cocoanut Hut (hotel), 128
Cocoanuts, xv, 12, 134, 156, 259
Coffee, xv, 76, 78, 153 f., 254 f.
Colon, Orlando, 309
Columbus, Christopher, 5 ff., 128, 139; statue, 113, 174
Comerio, 152, 153

Condado, 159 f.
Condado (hotel), 105, 106, 277, 278
Contreras, Governor, 16
Cooper, Robert A., 314
Cooperative drugstore, 330 ff.
Cordero, Rafael, 210
Correctional School, 129
Corretjer, Juan Antonio, 309
Cuba, 2, 3, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24 f., 28, 30, 32, 88, 119, 237, 255, 362, 371
Culebra, 155
Cumberland, Earl of, 13

Davis, George W., 42 f., 56, 58
del Toro, Emilio, 319 ff., 371
del Valle, Manuel V., 38 f.
Dempsey, Jack, 274 ff.
Dinwiddie, William, xxi
Disease, *see* Health and sanitation
Drake, Sir Francis, 13, 166
Ducos, Juan Garcia, *see* Garcia Ducos, Juan
Dutch sack of San Juan, 14, 167

Earthquakes, 70, 130 ff.
Economic and social problems, xv, xvi, 57, 59, 64, 70, 77 ff., 114, 129, 130, 132, 141 f., 145 f., 158 f., 161, 183, 188, 194, 201 ff., 230 f., 235 ff., 248 ff., 253 f., 255 ff., 260 ff., 336 ff., 368 ff.; *see also* Finances, Labor, Negroes, PRERA, PRRA
Education and schools, xvi, 14, 15, 50, 59, 62 f., 63 f., 69, 71, 74, 81, 137, 139, 175, 178, 185, 209 ff., 224, 231, 355, 365; *see also* University of Puerto Rico
El Libro de Puerto Rico, xxi f., 225, 325
El Morro, 13, 25, 44, 92, 111, 113, 158, 160, 162, 163 ff.
El Semil (hotel), 149, 197
El Toro, 268, 272
El Yunque, 115, 268 f., 272
Escambron, 159, 168, 277

Fairbank, Miles H., 265
Fajardo, 121, 155, 221, 268, 273
Fernandez Garcia, E., 225 f.
Ferré, Luis A., and family, 370 f.
Finances, 47, 49, 52, 68 f., 78, 79, 81, 82 ff., 97 ff., 182 ff., 201 f., 230 f., 233, 238, 240 f., 266 f., 277 f., 299, 322 f.
Flamboyant, 140 f.
Foraker Act, 42, 45 ff., 55, 180
Franck, Harry A., xxi

Gallardo, José, 317 f.
Garcia Ducos, Juan, 325 f.
Garcia, E. Fernandez, *see* Fernandez Garcia, E.
Garcia, Julio Pinto, *see* Pinto Garcia, Julio
Garcia Mendez, M. A., 311
Geography and topography, 6, 96 f., 100 f., 103, 116 ff., 139, 146, 152, 154, 156 f., 247, 280 f.; *see also* Climate
Gonzalez, Eduardo R., 275 f.
Gordon, W. W., 32 f.
Gore, Governor, 238, 368
Government: under Spain, 9 f., 14 ff., 18 ff., 22 f., 27; pending settlement of Spanish-American War, 32; under Foraker Act, 46 f.; under Jones Act, 47 ff.
Grapefruit, 134, 154, 156, 254, 259
Gray, Richard W., 195 f.
Gruening, Ernest H., 265, 268, 312
Guanica, 7 f., 26, 27, 31, 139, 140, 143, 144, 146; Forest Reservation, 269
Guayabal, 128
Guayama, 27, 31, 33, 101, 114, 118, 121, 139, 146, 148, 326

Hanna, Philip Counsel, 23 f., 36
Health and sanitation, 12, 59, 70, 71, 77 f., 80, 101, 126, 151 f., 190 ff., 199 ff., 239, 257, 323
Henry, Guy V., 42 f.
Hermitage of Our Lady of Montserrat, 139
Highways, xv, 59, 74, 102, 116, 117 ff., 123 ff., 144, 148 f., 154, 156 f., 268 ff.
History: discovery and settlement, 5 ff.; Spanish rule, xvi, 1-23, 73, 117 f., 145, 162 ff., 210, 242 f., 354 f.; British occupation and attacks, 13 f., 159 f., 167 f.; autonomy under Spain, 18 ff., 27, 41; Spanish-American War, 7, 20, 23 ff., 119, 143 f., 168; military rule under the United States, 42 ff., 56 f., 119, 163; civil rule under the United States, 3 ff., 42-86, 119 f., 147, 170 ff., 180 ff., 190 ff., 199 ff., 209, 211-273, 286-321, 348-376
Hoover, President, 79, 238
Hormigueros, 139, 144
Horton, Benjamin J., 238
Hotels and camps, 85, 100 ff., 115, 125 ff., 128 f., 146 f., 148 f., 150 ff., 152 f., 159, 272 f., 282 f.
Hull, Harwood, 293

Humacao, 121, 155
Hunt, Governor, 64 ff.
Hurricanes, 12, 14, 56 f., 64, 74 ff., 130 ff., 141, 191, 241, 266
Huyke, Juan B., 214 f.

Iglesias, Santiago, 68, 181, 296, 312
Independence, movement for, *see* Nationalism
Indians, 3, 6 ff., 354
Industries, 12, 62, 72, 79, 82 f., 130, 141, 146, 147 f., 153, 237, 245; *see also* Agriculture, Cement, Needlework, Sugar, Tourists
Inglaterra Hotel, 34, 37, 105, 285

Jayuya, 153, 269
Jones Act, *see* Organic Act
Juana Diaz, 118, 119

Kneipple, Elizabeth, xxi

Labor, labor organization and labor problems, 58, 68, 73, 80, 239 f., 242, 248, 249, 252, 255, 259; *see also* Economic and social problems
Lack of understanding between Puerto Ricans and Americans, 4, 170 ff., 348 ff.
La Fortaleza, 13, 38, 58, 92, 114, 160, 163 ff.
Lajas, 139
Lake Boqueron, 281
Lake Cartagena, 281
Lake Guanica, 281
Lameiro, José, 200 ff., 207
"Landing Day," 26
Language problem, xiv, xv, xvii, 4, 30, 38 f., 45, 50, 113, 213 ff., 222, 224 ff., 240, 287 f., 318 f., 328, 368
La Perla, 158 f.
Lares, 119, 152, 317
Las Marias, 139, 141
Law and its administration, 43, 48, 50, 51, 53 ff., 63, 71, 74, 239, 305
Lee, Atherton, 244
Literature about Puerto Rico, xiv ff., xxi f.
Literature by Puerto Ricans, xiv, 12, 83, 322, 324 ff.
Lottery, 108 f.
Luquillo National Forest Park, 115, 197, 269 ff.

Macias, Governor, 20, 27, 32 f., 38 f.
Mameyes, 268, 270
Manati, 127
Mango, 268
Manzano Aviño, Pedro, 326
Marcantonio, Vito, 309
Marchand Paz, Carlos Juan, 309
Maricao, 119, 139, 142; Forest Reservation, 269
Marin, Luis Muñoz, *see* Muñoz Marin, Luis
Martinez Nadal, Rafael, 296, 311
Mayagüez, 17, 101, 121 f., 127, 128 ff., 142, 143 ff., 183, 220 ff., 229, 243 ff., 312, 328, 330, 340
McKinley, President, 24, 32, 42, 57
Melia (hotel), 146 f.
Mendez, M. A. Garcia, *see* Garcia Mendez, M. A.
Miles, Nelson A., 26, 27, 30, 41
Military training, 138, 221
Millard, Thomas F., 34
Miller, Paul G., 214
Mona, Island and Passage, 7, 17, 128
Morales, Dr. Gorrido, 205
Municipal Theater, 113, 174 f.
Muñoz Marin, Luis, 306 f., 312
Muñoz Rivera, Luis, 18 ff., 154 f., 306; park, 260

Naming of Puerto Rico, 6, 8
Nationalism, xviii f., 45 f., 66, 199 ff., 250, 295-321, 328, 361-376; agitation for independence under Spain, 16 ff.
Needlework, 130, 134 ff.
Negroes and the Race Question, 3, 64, 300 ff., 353 ff.
Newspapers, 15, 22, 65, 263 ff., 286 ff., 371 f., 376

Ober, Frederick A., xxi
Oranges, 134, 154, 156, 259
O'Reilly, William F., 293
Organic Act, 41, 45 ff., 69, 171, 180, 364
Orocovis, 153
Ortega, Ricardo, 32, 39
Otero, Dr. Morales, 204

Padin, José, 215 ff., 223 ff.
Palacios, Governor, 16
Paz, Carlos Juan Marchand, *see* Marchand Paz, Carlos Juan
Phillips, Henry Albert, xxi
Pico, Rafael, 250
Pineapples, 134, 153, 154, 258
Pinto Garcia, Julio, 314
Police, Insular, 77, 303 ff., 309, 312 ff.
Political parties, 55, 59, 66, 68, 234 f., 286 ff., 295 ff., 311 f., 364; *see also* Nationalism

Polytechnic Institute of San German, 139
Ponce, 16, 18, 26 f., 31, 35, 101, 117 f., 121 f., 143, 146 ff., 149, 183, 243, 300, 312 ff., 370 f.
Ponce de Leon, 7 ff., 82 f., 92 f., 113 f., 139, 149, 162 f.
"Ponce de Leon Carnival," 82 ff.
Population, xv, 59, 66 f., 71, 79, 236 ff., 247, 253, 357 f., 368 f.
Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle (Van Deusen and Kneipple), xxi
Post, Regis H., 248
PRERA (Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration), 80, 238, 240 f., 262; *see also* PRRA
PRRA (Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration), 141 f., 183, 187, 225, 227, 230, 240 f., 253, 260 ff., 312, 361; *see also* PRERA
"Puerto Rican Blue Book," *see El Libro de Puerto Rico*
Puerto Rican Government, History, Law, *see* Government, History, Law
Puerto Ricans in the United States, 17 f., 19, 23, 24, 309, 369 f.
Puerto Rico and Its Possibilities (Dinwiddie), xxi
Puerto Rico and Its Resources (Ober), xxi
Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration, *see* PRERA
Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, *see* PRRA

Quiñones, José Severo, 58
Quiñones, Ramon, 205

Railway, xv f., 121 f., 127, 175
Rector, C. H., xiv ff.
Relief, *see* Economic and social problems, PRERA *and* PRRA
Rhoads, Dr. Cornelius P., 203 ff.
Riggs, E. Francis, 304 ff., 362, 366
Rio Blanco, 270
Rio Piedras, 34, 38, 118, 220, 221, 222, 229, 243, 246, 270
Rius Rivera, Juan, 17 f.
Rivera, Juan Rius, *see* Rius Rivera, Juan
Rivera, Luis Muñoz, *see* Muñoz Rivera, Luis
Roaming Through the West Indies (Franck), xxi
Rockefeller Institute, 192, 193, 200 ff.
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 80, 81, 317 f.
Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D., 81, 345
Roosevelt, Theodore (Governor), 78 f.
Roosevelt, Theodore (President), 164, 270

Sagasta, P. M., 18 f.
Salinas, 148
Sampson, Admiral, 25
San Ciriaco, 56 f.
San Cristobal, 13, 25, 44, 113, 158, 162, 167 ff., 232
San German, 139
San Geronimo, 13, 25, 159 f., 168
San Juan, 9, 10 f., 13 f., 24 f., 27, 28, 32 f., 34 ff., 75, 83, 87, 92 ff., 101, 104 f., 109 ff., 117 ff., 121 f., 132, 133, 144, 148, 153, 155 f., 158 ff., 174, 183, 185, 193 ff., 200 ff., 210, 220 ff., 232, 265, 277 f., 287, 293, 309, 319, 322 ff., 344, 351
Santa Isabel, 148, 149
Santurce, 160, 191, 206, 220
Schley, Winfield Scott, 32 f.
School of Tropical Medicine, 114, 193 ff., 220
Schools, *see* Education, University of Puerto Rico
Schwan, Theodore, 144
Sheridan, Michael V., 33
Slaves and slave-trade, 3, 10, 12, 15, 354 f.
Social problems, *see* Economic and social problems
Soto, Juan B., 228 ff., 372
Spanish-American War, *see* History
Spanish citizens in Puerto Rico, 42, 47, 64 f., 177 ff., 180 ff., 356
Spanish House, *see* Casa de España
Spanish rule, *see* History, Government
Sports, 114, 138, 169, 198, 275 ff.
Steamers to Puerto Rico, 87 ff., 98 ff., 102, 103, 106, 155
Sugar and the sugar industry, 8, 12, 64 f., 70, 76, 87, 122, 130, 134, 137, 139 f., 146, 147, 148, 155, 156, 184, 185, 202, 230, 241, 243, 246, 248 ff., 255 f., 268

Tobacco, 87, 134, 137, 154, 259
Topography, *see* Geography and topography
Touring and tourists, 81-169; Four-day Tour, 107 ff.; Grand Tour, 116 ff.; West End of Island, 128 ff.; *see also* Airplane service, Hotels, Steamers
Towner, Governor, 74, 133
Trade (exports and imports), 14, 35, 59, 70 f., 72, 80, 87, 147 f., 202, 247, 251 f.

Travel, *see* Touring and tourists
Treasure Island Camps, 115, 152 f., 197
Troche, Garcia, 163
Tydings Bill, 308, 312, 363, 366

University of Puerto Rico, 34, 112, 114, 137 f., 176, 185, 193 f., 220 ff., 243 f., 267, 303 f., 315, 322 f., 372
Utuado, 119, 144, 153

Van Deusen, Richard James, xxi
Vauban, S. LeP. de, 168
Vieques, 155
Villalba, 148, 153
Viollet-le-Duc, E. E., 166

White Elephants in the Caribbean (Phillips), xxi
Winship, Blanton, 80 ff., 98, 230 f., 235, 238, 276, 313, 320
Women, 137, 186 ff., 258, 337 f., 339 f.; woman suffrage, 53, 189
World War, 69 f., 167
Wright, J. W., 163, 276

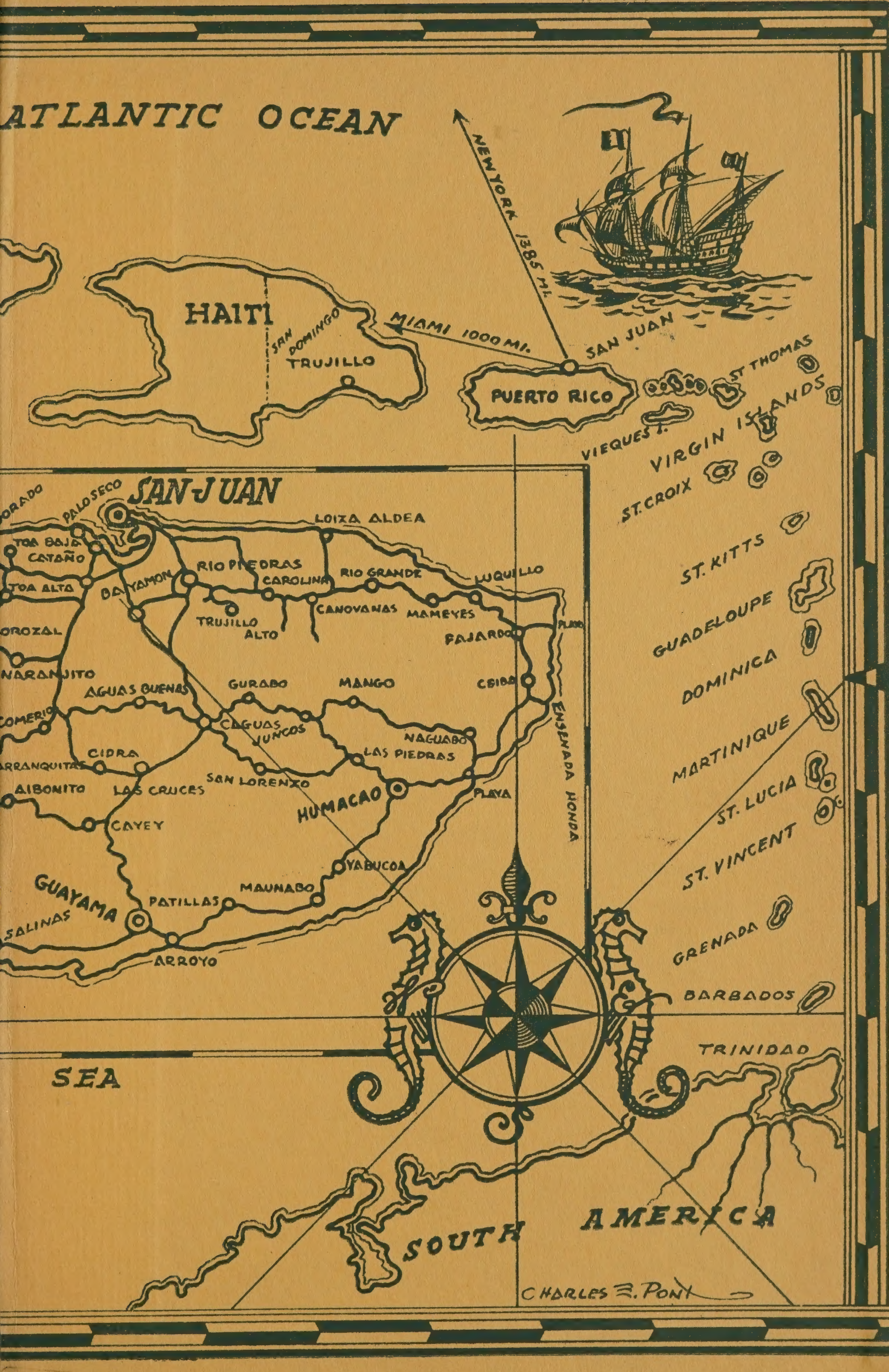
Yager, Arthur, 69 ff.
Yauco, 19, 26, 27, 146

Zioncheck, Representative, 308 f.

MIAMI
KEY WEST
HAVANA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
JAMAICA
FARO BORINQUEN
RINCON
MAYAGÜEZ
PTO. REAL
CABO ROJO
BARCELONETA
VEGA BAJA
MANATI
CIALES
MOROVIS
CIALITO
VILLALBA
COAMO
JUANA DIAZ
STA ISABEL
PUERTO RICO
CARIBBEAN
CENTRAL AMERICA
PANAMA CANAL
CANAL ZONE

Date Due

~~NEW BOOK~~
~~F 7 '39~~
~~D 8 '39~~
~~Ja 24 '40~~
~~Ap 15 '41~~
~~My 15 '41~~
~~N 21 '46~~
~~O 30 '47~~
~~N 20 '47~~
~~MY 1948~~
~~FE 11 '52~~
~~FACULTY~~
~~SEP 20 1966~~


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW YORK 1385 MI.
HAITI
SAN DOMINGO
TRUJILLO
MIAMI 1000 MI.
SAN JUAN
PUERTO RICO
ST THOMAS
VIRGIN ISLANDS
VIEQUES I.
ST. CROIX
ST. KITTS
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
ST. LUCIA
ST. VINCENT
GRENADA
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
SAN JUAN
PALOSECO
TOA BAJA
CATAÑO
TOA ALTA
COROZAL
NARANJITO
COMERIO
BARRANQUITAS
AIBONITO
BAYAMON
RIO PIEDRAS
LOIZA ALDEA
CAROLINA
RIO GRANDE
LUQUILLO
TRUJILLO ALTO
CANOVANAS
MAMEYES
FAJARDO
PLAYA
AGUAS BUENAS
GURABO
MANGO
CEIBA
CAGUAS
JUNCOS
NAGUABO
LAS PIEDRAS
CIDRA
SAN LORENZO
LAS CRUCES
HUMACAO
PLAYA
ENSENADA HONDA
CAYEY
YABUCOA
MAUNABO
GUAYAMA
SALINAS
PATILLAS
ARROYO
SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
CHARLES E. PONT

F1958 .W55
Puerto Rico and its people,
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00137 3606